

Congress and Congressmen **IN THE** **Pre-Gandhian Era** **1885-1917**

BIMANBEHARI MAJUMDAR
AND
BHAKAT PRASAD MAZUMDAR



FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
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To
DR. TRIGUNA SEN
Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University

P R E F A C E

This work is an attempt at presenting an objective history of the Indian National Congress during the first thirty-three years of its existence. This important and formative period in the history of the national organisation has not received either from dispassionate scholars or from partisan writers the attention it deserves. An elaborate or abbreviated summary of the proceedings of the early years of the Congress along with the resolutions passed has usually been reckoned as its history.

Mahatma Gandhi's dynamic personality dominated the Congress for nearly three decades. It is not, therefore, unusual to identify the Congress with him. A recent writer has produced a treatise on the Congress ideology and programme, but his work ignores the earlier phase of the Congress and covers the period between 1920 and 1947, which he appropriately designates as the Gandhian era. It is not easy to imagine today that there was a time when Gandhiji's name having been proposed for the Subjects Committee could not be acceptable to the delegates electing that body; yet, this very thing happened in Bombay in 1915. Many of the speeches delivered in Hindi and Urdu were translated and reproduced in English in the Proceedings of the Congress but the speech which Mahatma Gandhi delivered in Hindi in the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1917 did not find any place in the official reports of the Congress of that year. This is why we have called the period between 1885 and 1917 the pre-Gandhian era, though Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the Congress platform as early as 1901.

The facts collected by the son have been utilised by his father in writing out the first part of the book and the conclusion. The junior author is entirely responsible for the second and third parts of the book. As the original reports of the Congress contain numerous printing mistakes, especially with regard to the names of speakers and delegates, some mistakes may have inadvertently crept into the alphabetical list of delivered speeches in the Congress. So long as A. O. Hume drafted the report or supervised its writing there was an attempt to identify the speakers by quoting the

number in the delegation list within brackets. But this practice did not continue for more than eight years. Meanwhile the number of delegates increased enormously ; and it was no easy task to go through the list of several thousand persons and try to find out which of them delivered speeches in the open session. References to contemporary journals have been cited for the life and thought of many of the 781 distinguished speakers who appeared on the Congress platform during the period under review. Besides these the names of 145 other delegates have been included as representatives of various types—the serial number against their name has been given on the right side.

Like the squirrels' lending their helping hand to Ramachandra in constructing the Adam's bridge the writers of the present volume fervently hope that their labour may be of some help to those who are compiling the Dictionary of Nationalist Biographies under the project sponsored by the Asia Foundation. The authors are grateful to the authorities of the Sinha Library, Patna, A. I. C. C. Library in New Delhi, the National Library, Calcutta and to the small but extremely valuable libraries attached to the Post-Graduate Department of History in the Patna University and to the office of the *Hindu* in Madras for allowing them facilities for utilising the books, journals and reports collected therein. Some useful suggestions have been given by Sri Subhas Chandra Sarker, Editor of *The Searchlight*, who has got the unique knack of being an intimate friend of both the father and son. We must also acknowledge the valuable help rendered by Sri Bhagaban Prasad Majumdar in correcting the proofs and preparing the Index.

Dariapur Gola
Patna
13 March, 1937

Bimanbehari Majumdar
Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar

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PART I

CHAPTER I

GENESIS AND THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF THE CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress was the fulfilment of and logical corollary to all the efforts at organising political associations in different parts of India. The bodies which preceded it voiced indeed some of the grievances common to the whole of India, but they failed to provide a common platform for the public men belonging to the diverse Provinces and Presidencies of India. The British Indian Association drew its members mainly from Bengal, just as the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Bombay Presidency Association limited their activities generally to certain specified areas. But the older associations had much greater cohesion than the Congress.

It appears that the name 'National Congress' did not first occur to Hume. The organisation which he started in March, 1883 was called the Indian National Union. The first report of the Congress, written by Hume himself states that it was decided to hold a conference of the Indian National Union at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December, 1885. But even a prominent citizen of Poona like Bal Gangadhar Tilak did not know as late as the 6th December, 1885 that Poona had been selected as the venue of the Conference, because he wrote in the *Mahratha* of that date, "Calcutta once tried to get delegates from the different parts of the Empire but the experiment failed, one of the principal causes of failure being the remoteness of the place. If a central place, well-known for its public activities, and intelligence be fixed upon, then there need be no apprehension of a failure. We may be pardoned for suggesting the name of this city, because we know that this city is not behind other towns." Tilak was referring here obviously to the conference convened by the Indian Association in 1883. It is needless to consider whether Calcutta, the then capital of India was less centrally situated than Poona or whether the conference which was attended by 100 persons was a failure when compared to the assemblage in Bombay which attracted some 72 persons. But the fact remains that the term 'National Congress' was used first by the Indian Association at least three years before the

meeting of the first session of the Congress. *The Hindu* of Madras wrote on the 18th January, 1883 : "Sometime ago we were told that the Indian Association of Calcutta was maturing a scheme of an annual National Congress to be held in some central city such as Delhi to which native gentlemen from different parts of the country were to be invited". From the official report of the first session of the Congress we learn that it was decided, apparently by Hume himself, to call the conference of the Indian National Union by the name, 'Congress', when on account of outbreak of several cases of cholera at Poona the venue had to be changed to Bombay. Hume mentions the fact casually thus : "It was therefore considered prudent, despite the difficulties attendant on any change at so late a period, to hold the conference (which it had in the mean time been decided to call the Congress) at Bombay". The fact regarding the change of name, however, was too sudden to be known to the members of the Indian National Conference, holding their session in Calcutta on the 25th, 26th and 27th December, 1885. They sent a telegram congratulating the conference meeting at Bombay on the 28th, 29th and 30th December. They did not use the term Congress and Hume in his Report referred to the National Conference as "the Provincial Conference recently held at Calcutta".¹

There was considerable difference of opinion amongst the promoters of the Congress regarding its aims and objects. Hume emphasised the necessity of setting up of an all-India organization primarily for political purpose. In the circular letter issued in March, 1885 he stated : "The conference will be composed of delegates leading politicians well acquainted with the English language, from all parts of Bengal, Bombay and Madras presidencies. The direct objects of the conference will be (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year. Indirectly the conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution".² But W. C. Bonnerjee in his Presidential address whittled down the political objects and laid greater stress on social ones. According to him the objects for which the Congress stood were (1) "the promotion of personal

intimacy amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in this part of the Empire (ii) the eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that has their origin in Lord Ripon's reign (iii) the authoritative record after this has been cordially elicited by the fullest discussion of the matured opinion of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day (iv) the determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interest." It is noteworthy that Hume did not refer to social questions directly even for a single time while Bonnerjee was practically silent upon 'political operations' and only incidentally used the word 'politicians' who were expected to 'labour in the public interest', which is vague and indefinite. The proceedings of the first Congress session, however, show that no social question was taken up and that all the resolutions passed were definitely concerned directly with political subjects. These resolutions related to the demand for (i) a Parliamentary enquiry into the material and moral progress of India ; (ii) abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ; (iii) reform of the supreme and provincial legislative councils ; (iv) holding of competitive examination simultaneously in England and India and the raising of the age of admission to 23 years (v) reduction in military expenditure (vi) re-imposition of customs duties, extension of the license tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official who had been exempted from its payment (vii) the Congress also deprecated the annexation of Upper Burma and requested that the whole of Burma should be separated from India and constituted a Crown Colony.

The *Mahratha* was misled by the President's enunciation of the objections to think that the conference in Bombay dealt with socio-political matter. To the editor of the *Mahratha* the Bombay meeting did not appear to be a striking one in any way. He failed to call it by the name of Congress. On the 17th June, 1886 he commented : "We had a conference at Madras, another at Calcutta and third in Bombay. There delegates from different centres of the Empire were present. The conference at Madras if we say so was

socio-religious held under the auspices of the theosophical society, that at Calcutta was purely political and the one in Bombay was socio-political. We are sorry that the proceedings of the conference have to be treated as private proceeding until they are officially given to the public". Lord Dufferin in his famous minute on the Congress written in November 1888 speaks of "the Congress which have been held at Calcutta and Madras" but is silent over the meeting at Bombay. Thus it appears that neither a public leader like Tilak, nor the Government of India recognised the Bombay meeting as a regular Congress. But the Bombay correspondent of the Weekly Edition of the *Times* (London) in an inspired message dated December 31, 1885 wrote : "They brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Members met together ; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. The whole of India was represented from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta. For the first time, perhaps, since the world began India as a nation met together." Hume quoted these words from *Times'* Weekly Edition, dated February 5, 1886 in the official report of proceedings of the Congress with evident pride. But the Indian Association which had succeeded in establishing a network of branches throughout India was not represented in the Bombay meeting. The President was conscious of the fact that Bengal was 'very inadequately represented'. Besides himself, only two other gentlemen, namely Girija Bhusan Mookerjee, a Premchand Roychand Scholar and editor of *Nava Beebhakara* and Narendra Nath Sen, editor, *Indian Mirror* represented Bengal. Hume had hoped that lower Bengal would send about 20 members like Bombay and Madras. Actually 37 persons claimed to represent the Bombay Presidency, 22 Madras, 7 North West Provinces and Oudh, and 3 each from the Punjab and Bengal.*

The first session of the Congress held at Bombay appeared more

*According to the official Report of the Congress the total number of delegates present was 72 but in 1888, the pamphlet entitled "The Indian National Congress—its Origin, History, Contribution and Objects" mentioned in p. 13 that the number was less than 100 and in the *Tamil Catechism* (p. 107) the number is given as 78.

In 1949 Dr. N. V. Rajkumar stated that the number was 89 and R. R. Diwakar reiterated this number (Development of the Congress Constitution), p. i, and p. iv. They did not, however, cite any authority.

or less like a drawing room gathering. Men like Ranade and Raghunath Rao, who being Government officials were not included in the official list of delegates, freely participated in discussions. The same member could speak several times on the same resolution. As many as 14 members spoke on the first and 17 on the third resolution.

The Congress did not set up any organisation for enlisting public support for the resolutions it passed. During its early years it had to depend on earlier associations for making propaganda in this respect. The first session resolved that "top resolutions passed by this Congress be communicated to the political Associations in each Province, and that these Associations be requested, with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their respective provinces, to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions. There was thus an air of unreality about the Congress, whose leaders thought that their duty was properly discharged by merely passing resolutions and forwarding them to the Government. They did not take any step to create a strong public opinion in favour of their demands. In this respect the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and the Indian Association of Calcutta were much better organised.

The obsession of W. C. Bonnerjee with social reform must have been responsible for the statement he made in December, 1898 in the Introduction to *Indian Politics* (Natesan) regarding the original object of Hume in founding the Congress. According to him, Hume "conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for, there were recognised political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India, and he thought that these bodies might suffer in importance if and where Indian politicians from different parts of the country came together, and discussed politics." With this idea in view he met Lord Dufferin at Simla early in 1885 but the latter advised him to create a body of persons in this country to perform the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England. Sir William Wedderburn corroborates this story¹. But there are several reasons for suspecting the veracity of this account. First, why should Hume be eager to enlist the sympathy of Lord Dufferin,

if his only object was to have a social reform organisation? He was certainly intelligent enough to know that social reforms could not be imposed on India through Governmental support. Secondly, did he not know that the then existing political associations did not provide an all-India platform for discussing political questions. They discussed some of the questions of all-India importance and sent memorials on these to the Government indeed, but none excepting the Indian Association could hardly be credited with the backing of any organisation of all-India importance. The Indian Association had organised many branch societies outside Bengal and had also convened a National Conference in 1883. But as no conference was convened in 1884, it looked at the beginning of 1885 that the conference of 1883 was probably a sporadic affair.

Thirdly, we learn from the letter Hume wrote to B. M. Malabari on February 1, 1885, that he attached very little importance to social reform questions. Malabari had presented his two notes on child marriage and widow re-marriage to the Government of Lord Ripon in 1884 and had also got these circulated to some influential persons. Hume administered to him a mild rebuke when he wrote to him: "It seems to me a sporadic crusade such as one you have now undertaken—not to capture the Holy Land, but merely to destroy one little stronghold of the infidels therein—is an utter waste of power in so much that even if crowned with momentary success, it could not have permanent result while the hills that command it and its water supply are still in the hands of the enemy." Here it is quite clear that Hume considered mere reform of some social customs as a sheer waste of time and energy so long as Indians were shut out of all political power.

Fourthly, Dufferin was all along against any political convention. On the 17th May, 1885, he wrote to Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay: "The functions of such an assembly must of necessity consist in criticising the acts or policy of the Government and in formulating demands which probably it would be impossible to grant"⁴. In his letter dated June 23, 1886 to Northbrook he reiterated: "But there is one thing I have carefully abstained from doing, and that is from stimulating the popular desire for radical change, and from raising hopes and expectations which it may not be possible to fulfil." He expressed his annoyance with the adverse

criticism levelled against him and wrote in the aforesaid letter; "Unfortunately they do not confine their attacks on any thing which the government or its members may have said or done or written, but they have deliberately adopted the dodge of attributing to me and to my colleagues whatever kind of design and intention they think is likely to render us most odious in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen. The principal offender in this respect is a gentleman of the name of Hume, whom probably you will remember cleverish, a little cracked, excessively vain and absolutely indifferent to truth."⁶

Lord Dufferin's estimate of the character of Hume need not be accepted as gospel truth. His views regarding Hume underwent substantial change in course of a year or so. He had written to Lord Reay on May 17, 1885: "He (Hume) is clever and gentlemanlike, but seems to have got a bee in his bonnet. Ripon told me he knew a good deal of the Natives and advised me to see him from time to time, which I have done both with pleasure and profit.* At his last interview he told me that he and his friends were going to assemble a political convention of delegates, as far as I understand, on the lines adopted by O'Connell previous to Catholic Emancipation and he said that they propose to ask you to act as Chairman." This letter does show that Hume consulted Dufferin at least seven or eight months prior to the meeting of the Congress in Bombay. But the private letters of Dufferin and his biographies do not anywhere allude to his active interest in the Congress, much less to his promoting the organisation of the Congress. Veer Raghava Chariar in his famous *Tamil Catechism* does not give any indication that Dufferin took the lead in setting up the Congress. In that pamphlet we find the following with regard to the second session :

Q—Did the Viceroy take any notice of the Congress ?

A—Yes, he did. The Viceroy and Governor-General invited many of the members of the Congress to his Palace and had some

*This admission of Dufferin has been ignored by Mr. Anthony Parel of the Harvard University, who in his learned paper on "Hume, Dufferin and the origins of the Indian National Congress" (Journal of Indian History, Dec. 1964, p. 715) says that in 1885 Hume was a *persona non grata* to the Administration. Had it been so Ripon would not have asked Dufferin to consult him, nor would Dufferin have followed the advice, and admitted that he had derived profit from his talk.

conversation with them about public affairs. He also honoured the members of the Congress by inviting them to a garden party.⁶

Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross on January 4, 1887 that though the tone of the discussions in the Congress was loyal and friendly to British rule, yet "the character of discussions was very childish, and reminded the auditor rather of Eton or Harrow Debating Society than even of the Oxford or Cambridge Union." Again, on February 1, 1886 he wrote to Cross that "the Congress leaders are more able and respectable in their individual capacity than as members of a rather hysterical assembly, in which the more violent and silly of their number rule the roost." All these indicate that he had probably no hand in bringing the Congress into existence. Why then was his name mentioned (probably privately) as being associated with the foundation of the Congress? In December, 1898 when Bonnerjee wrote the Introduction to the Natesan publication *Indian Politics* there was special reason for giving currency to such a story. Curzon's government had asked C. S. Bayley, the Superintendent for the suppression of *Thagi* and *Dakaiti*, to find out the names of those supporters of the Congress who belonged to the landed aristocracy. Bayley submitted his report on the 18th June, 1899. At such a time it was necessary to assure a section of Congressmen that the Congress had been started on the suggestion of a former Viceroy.

The second Congress session in Calcutta was a big affair in comparison to the previous one. Preparations had to be taken in hand from September, 1886, when a Committee was organised with Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore as President. He was too clever a man to remain long in darkness about the attitude of the Government. In any case we find Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in place of Jotindra Mohan Tagore welcoming the delegates. Thanks to the influence of Hume, leading members of landed aristocracy including the Maharaja of Cooch Bihar, a ruling prince and the Maharajas of Darbhanga, Hathwa and Dumraon and Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore and Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore made handsome donations.⁷ But none of them except Jotindra Mohan cared or dared to attend the Congress. From the list of delegates appended to the official report of the second Congress we learn that Jotindra Mohan Tagore was the President, W. C. Bonnerjee, the Vice-President and Surendra Nath Banerjee and Girija Bhusan Mukherjee were the

secretaries of an organisation called the Bengal National League. This shows that W. C. Bonnerjee and Surendra Nath Banerjee were co-workers. Bipin Chandra Pal, however, writes that W. C. Bonnerjee "never appreciated the labours of Surendra Nath. In fact, it was an open secret in those days that Mr. Bonnerjee was not in favour of inviting Surendra Nath and the leaders of the Indian Association to the first session of the Congress in Bombay". But Surendra Nath himself writes in his autobiography that W.C. Bonnerjee personally approached him and asked to join the first Congress, but as he had already made arrangements for the holding of the second National Conference he pleaded his inability to go to Bombay.

The Indian Association mustered strong in the second Congress. The Indian Union was represented by 12 delegates (numbers 263 to 274 in the official list of delegates) including Gurudas Banerjee (who later on became an eminent Judge and Vice-Chancellor), Monomohan Ghosh, N. N. Ghosh and Shambhu Chandra Mukherjee, the editor of the *Rais and Rayyat*. The British Indian Association sent 9 representatives. But the Indian Association was represented by as many as 28 members (Nos. 237-250, 253-262 and Ashutosh Biswas). Besides these, the Indian Association, Lahore, sent 3 delegates and the representatives of the branches of the Indian Association at Midnapore, Mymensingh, Ghatal, Howrah, Serampore, Singur, Panisheba, Guzurpur (Howrah), Ulubaria, Goalundo, Dinajpur, Jangipur, Jessore, Serajganj, Bagbati (Pabna), Krishnagar, Ranaghat, Bhajanghata (Burdwan), Purbasthali (Burdwan), Baranagore and Talai (24 Parganas) mustered strong at the Calcutta Congress. By virtue of the widespread organization of the Indian Association, Surendra Nath Banerjee appeared as the most influential person in the Calcutta Congress. Lord Dufferin, however, did not invite him to the interview, which he granted to some of the prominent Congressmen in their individual capacity.

The inaugural meeting of the Congress was held in the Calcutta Town Hall, but such was the rush of visitors that the organisers decided to hold the meeting next day in the rooms of the British Indian Association. These, however, proved too small and inadequate for the purpose. The venue of the meeting on the third day, the 29th December, had again to be shifted to the Town Hall.

Hume had hoped that there would be one delegate for one million population. But as a matter of fact, Bombay, Madras, N. W. Province and Oudh, and above all Bengal sent many more members than what was warranted by the calculation, while the number of delegates from the Punjab and the Central Provinces was slightly lower. The following chart prepared by Hume illustrates the matter.

Province	of gates ent.	No. of delegates on the basis of 1 per million.	No. of delegates present per million population
Madras	47	31	1.5
Bombay	47	17	0.9
N. W. P. & Oudh	74	49	1.7
C. P.	8	10	0.8
Bengal	230	70	3.3
Assam	8	5	1.5
Total	414	182	

Dufferin wrote in his last minute on the Congress, in 1888 : "The fact is that the Congress is the product of that infinitesimal section of the Indian community to whom I have already referred as having been tinctured either directly or indirectly with an infusion of European Education . . . They neither represent the aristocratic section of Indian Society, nor are they in special contact or sympathy with the great masses of the population. They do not understand their wants or necessities, if indeed they are not indifferent or even opposed to them—as evidenced by the strenuous resistance of the important Native Associations to our recent Land Legislation—and they are very imperfectly fitted to grasp any of the larger questions which affect the stability or safety of the empire as a whole". The charges levelled here against the Congress are absolutely baseless. Majority of the princes and zamindars, belonging to the so-called aristocratic section of society, had neither the courage nor the intelligence and learning to join the Congress. But a considerable number of landed proprietors did join the Congress as delegates. In 1886 out of 431 delegates as many as 130 belonged to this category.

In 1887 the number of Zamindars present among the delegates was 61. It is worth noting that some of the ruling chiefs, princes and big

Zamindars contributed handsomely to the funds of the Congress for the Madras session. The Maharaja of Mysore and the Maharaja of Vizianagaram contributed Rs. 1000 each, the Raja of Venkatagiri Rs. 500, Raja of Boteeli Rs. 200 and Raja G. N. Gajapathy Ray Rs. 325. While Raja Sir Madhava Rao, the Chairman of the Reception Committee donated Rs. 200/- only, persons like S. Subramania Iyer and P. Rangiah Nayudu gave Rs. 400/- each. A Moslem gentleman, Khan Bahadur Haji Mohamed Abdulla Badshaw Saheb contributed Rs. 200/- and another dignitary belonging to the same community, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, lent three of his fine houses for the accommodation of the delegates.¹⁰ In 1888 as many as 3 Rajas, 11 Nawabs, 1 Shahzada, 2 Princes of the Mughal Imperial family, 3 princes of other families, and 388 landholders attended the Allahabad Congress as delegates. In 1890 the number of Zamindars, Talookdars and Landholders attending the Congress as delegates was 250. The presence of so many representatives of the landlord class did not, however, deter the Congress from championing the cause of the peasants. The political association which fought tooth and nail against the interests of tenants was not the Congress but the British Indian Association, which was so much favoured by the Government.

Lord Dufferin accused the Congress of indifference to the task of mobilising the opinion of the masses. This is far from the truth. In 1887 the leaders of the Congress made a determined effort to establish mass contact through the distribution of a Catechism written in Tamil by Veer Raghava Chariar. Thirty thousand copies of the pamphlet were distributed free of cost in southern India, while twentyfive thousand copies of a pamphlet written in Urdu was similarly circulated in Northern India. In the *Tamil Catechism* an attempt was made to educate public opinion in an effective way. It advocated the establishment of representative legislature with power of making laws and voting taxes as the best way of improving the condition of the people of India. Thus it ran : "Our countrymen should do their best to establish in India a representative council similar to the Parliament of Great Britain to consider the questions that relate to our well-being. We should get the permission of the British Parliament to elect the members of that Council. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress should make the resolution of that Council binding upon the Governors-General and Governors. If we succeed in thus establi-

shing one grand representative council for the whole of India, and five or six other smaller councils, one for each of the more important provinces of the Empire, and if it is enacted that no law be passed or tax imposed except with the express permission of such Councils, we should then have arrived at the commencement of the political regeneration of India. We should constantly press on the British people the paramount necessity there is for carrying into effect the above reforms through telegraph, associations, newspapers, and delegates. It is only by persisting in the agitation that we can make our grievances heard in England. If the English nation begin to evince interest in the affairs of this country, the opposition of the Anglo-Indian officials, who wish to keep matters as they are, will soon cease to be effective.”

The questioner in the *Catechism* asks : “Are there any assemblies in India like the Parliament of Great Britain ?” In reply, the composition and function of the Indian Legislature under the Councils Act of 1861 are thus denounced : “The Councils in India resemble the Parliament of England only in name. They are called the Legislative Councils. As at present constituted, the Councils are mere shams and have no independent power. Their members are entirely powerless to regulate the expenditure of Government, even to the extent of a single pie, nor could they alter or cancel the laws which the Government resolve to enforce. The Government offer some native gentlemen seats in the Council merely, it would seem, to lead the people of England into the belief that in the government of the country Native opinion receives due weight.

Q. But why are these Councils such shams ; if there are several of our people on them, why don't they fight for us ? Why do they not see that justice is done to us ?

Ans. In the first place the natives who sit in these Councils are not chosen by us but by Government. If they displease us we can't turn them out ; but if they displease Government, it takes care not to re-appoint them after the lapse of two years for which such gentlemen are appointed. Now men so appointed are entitled to have 'Honourable' put before their names, and it is considered a great honour to be on them, and if they do just what Government likes, they are given, K.C.S.Is, or K.C.I.Es, or C.S.Is, or C.I.E.'s, all empty titles of no good, but which vain and foolish people set great

store by. Then, too, Government mostly chooses not people who will fight for our rights, but more or less foolish big men, who will just do what they are told by Government. So it follows that very few of the natives who have hitherto sat in Council have tried to do good for us. Some, however, have ; but the system is such that even if every one of them were clever men and did their very best, they could yet do nothing. For the way is this, they constitute only a small minority in the Council, and the only questions that come before them are new laws. They are not allowed to ask a question even to learn anything about anything else connected with the administration of the country ; only when a new law has to be passed, they must hear it and may say what they think of it. But no law comes before these legislative councils until the Viceroy or Governors have already settled in their Executive Councils, on which there are no native, what the law is to be ; and when they bring it into the legislative councils it has been already settled ; a few words or clauses may be altered (if such alterations commend themselves to the Viceroy and the members of the Executive Council), but that is all. The poor native members may express their opinion—they may say the law is a very bad one, but they are in a minority and no one minds them. So you see even if our people tried, which only a few ever have done, to fight our battles, they could do nothing, for these councils are a mere sham.”

The *Tamil Catechism* for the first time in the history of the Indian nationalist movement appealed to the masses to join the Congress, so that Indians might establish their claim for self-government. Therein lies the importance of this mass appeal. It boldly declared : “If our countrymen muster strongly in the Annual Congress and meet year after year, and tell the English Government what they want, that Government will gradually remodel the administration in accordance with the clearly expressed wishes of the whole country. But then if we are to succeed at all quickly, everybody must join ; everybody must interest themselves in the matter and take part in the election of the delegates, and help the work in every way they can ; and if some of the local officials be displeased with them, they must not be angry with or frightened at this. It is only natural that those amongst the officials who are not highminded should feel annoyed at a movement which will tend to curtail their arbitrary power, and generally to

compel them to consult the wishes and feelings of their people a great deal more than they do now. So it is no use being vexed, while it would be foolish to be frightened. Every man should just join and go on with the work good humouredly, not troubling himself what officials or any one else think or say about the matter." A question is asked as to why it was necessary to reaffirm a resolution already passed in a previous session. The reply is characteristic of the mentality of the Congressmen of that period : "It is only when the child cries often that the mother gives it milk. Even so it is only by repeatedly telling the British nation what we are in need of that we can hope for any redress. The Anglo-Indian officials have been for many decades enjoying exceptional rights and privileges, and if these are now to be curtailed, will they not oppose us with all their might ?" ¹²

The *Tamil Catechism* levelled some charges against the British officials working in India. First, they were not well acquainted with the problems the people had to face. Secondly, they were arrogant enough to believe that "all they do is right, and that it is done in the best possible manner." Thirdly, they did not acquaint the British authorities in England with the real state of affairs in India. These officers "not unnaturally do not desire either a reduction of their salaries or their powers, and this would certainly follow if the English public-come really to understand how matters at the present time really stand."¹³ Such criticism annoyed and even offended the British officials in India. They were not accustomed to hear such plain speaking. But what really troubled and probably frightened them was the direct appeal of the Congress leaders to masses in their mother tongue. They could afford to ignore the clamours of a handful of educated persons. But when the Congress proceeded to enlist the support of millions of people in rural areas they decided to repress the movement. The little sympathy which some of them had shown towards the Congress evaporated now. In a letter to Cross, dated December 3, 1888 Dufferin referred with a sneer to "Mr. Hume's foolish threats of insurrection, and dissemination of the libels and calumnies contained in the *Tamil Catechism* and similar publications."¹⁴ Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces sent a strong letter of protest to Hume against the Catechism. The whole official hierarchy of India frowned upon the Congress effort at mass contact. The result was that no such

attempt was made again by the Congress leaders before the launching of the Home Rule Movement by Lokmanya Tilak.

There is a general notion that the Congress in its early days was an organization of persons, who were educated in English language. This might have been true of the first two sessions, but not with regard to the Madras session in 1887. Hume wrote to the Editor of the *Indian Mirror* : "At the last Congress (Madras 1887) there were many delegates and even several speakers, who were only acquainted with their own vernaculars. If we take Provincial Standing Congress Committees, comprising of some 97 members, fully one-third of these are not English-educated men and in the lower grades of the organisation the English-educated are the exception."¹⁶ Amongst the speakers at the Madras Congress, there was one Mookansari of Tanjore who delivered his speech in Tamil. He is described by Hume in the Introduction to the Report as a working carpenter, but in the list of Delegates appended to the Report, he called himself an Iron merchant. Probably he was a carpenter by caste and an Iron merchant by profession. He was a Municipal Commissioner and a member of the Local Board. He might not have been a simple working artisan as he has been represented to be, but he may be described as the precursor of Mr. Kamaraj, the present President of the Congress, who has got the courage to address his North Indian audience invariably in Tamil.

The Madras session of the Congress was remarkable for two other reasons also. For the first time an attempt was made to approach the common people to contribute to the Congress fund. The total expenditure on the first session at Bombay was only Rs. 3000. As the amount was a small one there was no need of appealing to the masses for subscription, nor had such an idea struck men like Telang and Pheroze Shah Mehta. The total expenditure on the Calcutta session in 1886 amounted to Rs. 16,000¹⁶ of which Maharaja of Darbhanga himself contributed Rs. 2500.¹⁷ Hume observes : "The funds required for the expenses of the two previous Congresses were exclusively raised from the rich, or comparatively rich members of the party residing in the province, where the Congress took place in sums varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 2500". The distribution of the *Catechism* in Tamil evoked unprecedented response from the masses. They came forward with small contributions of one anna to twentyfour

annas. In this way Rs. 5500 were collected from more than 8000 persons. Another sum of Rs. 8000 was raised from middle class subscribers. The total collection amounted to Rs. 30,000 of which Rs. 16,500 was the donation of the richer classes. The second feature of the Madras session was the erection of a large pandal for the accommodation of some 3000 persons. The difficulties in giving seating accommodation to the delegates and visitors which confronted the previous session were thus solved satisfactorily.

The year 1888 was most critical in the early history of the Congress. The organization was threatened with extinction from three quarters—the official, the Moslem and even from some of its leading members. The officials felt greatly annoyed when the Congress sought to bring them into ridicule. The type of criticism which it levelled against the Government and the bureaucracy was not at all seditious in character. But they had been accustomed to hear only fulsome praises so long and the sudden attack on their character and administration startled them. Dufferin complained that the Congress had circulated pamphlets making the most “libellous and calumnious accusations” against the Indian Government and the civil servants. Orders were issued by him forbidding Government servants to raise funds for any political association. The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, got an anti-Congress speech delivered by the Maharaja of Benares printed at Government cost and circulated it to all schools and colleges.” Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Province and Oudh, made it impossible for Pandit Ayodhyanath and his associates to secure land for accommodating the Congress. It was also difficult to collect funds. Pandit Ayodhyanath told the delegates in his welcome address that he was prepared to risk his personal property for the sake of the Congress. He further said that the officialdom of the NWP had put so many obstacles that but for the help of the Maharaja of Darbhanga it would have been impossible for him to find a venue for the Congress. The Maharaja purchased the Lowther Castle and made it available for the use of the Congress session at Allahabad.

Sir Syed Ahmed, Syed Ameer Ali and Abdul Latif were able to induce the Nizam and his principal advisers like Salar Jung, Munir-ul-Mulk, Fateh Nawaj Jung and Syed Hussain Bilgrami to join the opposition to the Congress. Sir Syed Ahmed carried on a

vigorous campaign throughout the Province against the Congress. He tried to induce Syed Badruddin Tyabji, the President of the Madras session to give up his connection with the Congress. Just at the beginning of the year, January 22, 1888 Hume wrote to Tyabji : "There is a sense growing up that this Congress at Allahabad will be the turning point of the movement. That invading our opponents' own dominions, we must carry the day, or give up the campaign and it is beginning to be felt that if we are to succeed we must again have a Mohamedan President and that President must be yourself. It is believed that with you as the President, Syed Ahmed's tirades will have no effect with the North of India Mohamedans."¹⁹ This proposal was not carried into effect, either because Tyabji did not swallow the bait or because the Congressites at Allahabad did not like the idea of having the same man as President for two successive years.

Syed Badruddin Tyabji made the counter-proposal of proroguing the Congress for five years in a letter to Hume, dated, October 27, 1888. He wrote that 'if the Mussalman community as a whole was against the Congress—rightly or wrongly does not matter—it follows that the movement *ipso facto* ceases to be a general or National Congress'. He came to the conclusion that it was time to cease holding the Congress every year and proposed that after the holding of the session at Allahabad 'the Congress should be prorogued, say for at least five years.' He strengthened his proposal by saying "What I write now, therefore, may be taken to represent the views not only of myself and other leading Mahomedans of Bombay, but such men as Mehta, Telang etc."²⁰ Herein lay the real danger. Neither Mehta nor Telang attended the Congress in Calcutta or Madras, though Telang sent a telegram to the latter. But now in the fourth year of the existence of the Congress these stalwarts of Bombay came forward with the view that it would be inexpedient to hold the Congress any more, at least for the next five years. The proposal could not be lightly brushed aside. But it was not brought before the open session in 1888, 1889 or 1890. At the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1891 it was formally moved by W. C. Bonnerjee that the annual session of the Congress was to be continued. It was seconded by Pandit Ayodhyanath and passed unanimously (Resolution X). The official report of the Congress does not give the background of this resolution. It saved the institution from succumbing to infant mortality.

The attendance of delegates and visitors at the Allahabad session showed that the Congress was gaining in popularity both amongst the Hindus and the Moslems.^c The following chart will show how the different provinces sent an increasing number of delegates to the Congress :

Provinces	1886 Calcutta	1887 Madras	1888 Allahabad
Madras	47	362	95
Bombay and Sind	47	99	163
Punjab	17	9	80
N.W.P. & Oudh	74	45	583
C. P. and Berar	8	13	73
Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam	238	79	254
	<u>431</u>	<u>607</u>	<u>1248</u>

There were 222 Moslems, 7 Parsees, 11 Jains, 6 Sikhs, 20 Indian Christians, 16 Europeans and 2 Americans present among the delegates at Allahabad.

A comparative study of the professions represented in the Madras and the Allahabad sessions reveals how the lawyers, journalists and members of local bodies predominated :

	Madras, 1887	Allahabad, 1888
Lawyers	206	414 + 22 Barristers, 6 Solicitors, 6 Public Prosecutors.
Journalists	43	77
Municipal Commissioners	103	143
Members of Local Bodies	56	17
Members of Legislative Council	3	3
Teachers	55	58
Zamindars	61	388
Ryots	95	10

Thus we see that the Congress caught the imagination of all sections of the people within the short period of its existence. It was thus able to withstand the frowns of officialdom and the threats of communalists.

CHAPTER II

EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS

It is extremely surprising that an important public body like the Indian National Congress had no Constitution at all during the first fifteen years of its existence. There was no rule or regulation prescribing the election or selection of delegates, secretary, president or executive committee. It is not known how the secretary or president was selected during the first three years. We find for the first time in the Proceedings of the fourth Congress meeting at Allahabad a resolution to the effect that Mr. A. O. Hume be "reappointed" General Secretary for the ensuing year. The audience were left free to guess for themselves as to when he was appointed first as Secretary or who appointed him. In his presidential address in 1893, Dadabhai Naoroji referred to the late Justice Kashinath Trimbak Telang as "one of the most active founders of the Congress" and "its first hard-working Secretary in Bombay." Here the term Secretary obviously referred to the Secretary of the Reception Committee or the Local Secretary. He could not have been the General Secretary because we do not find Telang present in the second or the third session of the Congress in Calcutta and Madras respectively.

Hume framed a tentative scheme for the election of delegates as follows :

"It seems probable that in each province or at any rate in some provinces, it will be best to constitute an Electoral College as it is termed, for the election of members of the Provincial Councils. It might in some provinces be arranged for instance, that the municipalities of every town of 25000 (the figures are inserted purely tentatively to avoid blanks) inhabitants and upwards should elect one member for every 25000 souls they represent to sit in the college; that all the graduates of its University should elect one member for every 200 graduates still on its rolls; that all persons paying income tax on an income of Rs. 5000 per annum and upwards should elect one member for every 100 such persons; that all political

associations containing not less than one hundred members, each paying a subscription of not less than Rs. 5 per annum should elect one member for every one hundred such members ; the editors of all papers having a *bona fide* circulation of 500 copies and upwards should amongst them elect one member ; that the Bar including all native Barristers and duly licensed Vakeels and Mokhtars should elect one or more members ; that the Native Chambers of Commerce should elect one or more members. And other bodies and classes, according to the circumstances of each province might equally obtain the franchise. The electoral College thus constituted would then proceed to elect either from amongst themselves, or from outside, those men that appeared to them to be best qualified, irrespective of race, creed, colour or caste to represent the Indian interests in the local councils.”¹

The scheme was not free from serious defects. It left out the rural population altogether ; it equated 25000 urban population with 200 graduates and 100 Income tax payers and 100 members of a political association. In accordance with the then prevalent mode of official thinking attempts were made to give representation to class and sectional interests. In spite of these obvious shortcomings the tentative proposal of Hume pointed out the need for having some sort of rules and regulations for the Congress. It, however, frightened those who would have liked to pose as leaders without being elected by any regularly constituted electorate. It was this class of people which offered stiff resistance to successive proposals for framing a Constitution for the Congress.

For the first time an attempt was made in Madras in 1887 to provide some sort of Constitution. Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra proposed on the 28th December that a Committee be appointed to consider what, if any, rules should be framed for the Constitution and working of the Congress. In explaining his object he said : “We ought, it seems to me, to have some rules as to who our delegates are to be, how they are to be elected and how certified to. We ought to have some rules as to the procedure, to be followed in this assembly, and as to other similar matters. The rules must, of course, in the beginning, be very simple, indeed, embodying the existing practice as far as possible, and giving, as it were, the force of law to custom. They must not be hard and fast rules that will prematurely bind us down to any special scheme ; ours is a young and growing institution and if our

Constitution is really to fit us, it must grow with us ; but there must be some very simple temporary rules as to the selection of delegates, and as to the working of the Congress. That is all, I think, that we ought, at this very early stage of our career, to attempt. We may avoid, by this, one serious objection that has been raised to this National Congress. It has been said that this National Congress is a sort of mutual admiration society, (Voices of 'No, No') consisting of a number of self-constituted delegates, each one appointed by himself as his own delegate without any sort of representation whatever. If, by our rules, we can show to our critics that men whom we allow to take part in the deliberations of this assembly are, as we all know that they are, men duly elected, either by public bodies at general meetings, or by towns or groups of towns at public meetings, and if we can thus convince them that the delegates, who take part in the deliberations of this great assembly, are men who have the confidence of important groups of their countrymen, all over the vast Empire, shall we not be sufficiently answering our unkindly critics ?”

R. P. Karandikar contended that the attempt to frame a Constitution for the Congress was a premature one, in view of the fact that provinces like the North-West Provinces and the Punjab had not yet got an opportunity of seeing the Congress actually at work. A. R. Jogulekar also said that some rules might be framed for working of the Congress when it had met, but all else should be left to local discretion until the whole country really knew what was needful. R. M. Saul laid stress on the varied political and intellectual development of different Provinces and said that time had not arrived for laying down uniform constitutional rules. On a personal appeal by the President the resolution appointing a committee for framing a constitution was passed ; but when it was presented to the Congress on December 30, it was resolved that these “stand over for consideration till next Congress but that, in the meantime, copies be circulated to all standing Congress committees with the request that they will during the coming year, act in accordance with these rules so far as they may seem to them possible and desirable, and report thereon to the next Congress, with such further suggestions as to them may seem meet.”

The Standing Congress Committees referred to in the resolution had been constituted in accordance with the Resolution XIII of

1886. In moving it W. C. Bonnerjee said that permanent committees of the Congress ought to be constituted in all the provinces of India. "Each province, will, no doubt, fix the number of its own committee and appoint its own committee but a committee, small or large, is absolutely required in every province."

'Let alone' policy appears to have been the motto of the early Congress leaders. They were afraid of fixing even the minimum or maximum number of members of the Standing Committees or of prescribing any sort of rule for the election of such bodies. In the absence of any such rules any set of persons who chose to do so could claim to be the Standing Committee of a province. Probably very few persons were eager to be members of such a Committee in those days. Even those who liked to do so did not take much interest in the Congress organisation. When the Congress met next year at Allahabad there was no report from anywhere except Madras and the matter was quietly dropped.

In 1889 the number of delegates to the Congress rose suddenly from 1248 at Allahabad to 1889 plus another 24 who paid for their tickets but did not get their names registered. Under such circumstances it was impossible for the Congress to substantiate the claim that it was a representative body. Moreover, the presence of so many so-called delegates made it impossible for the Congress to conduct its deliberations in a businesslike manner. It was, therefore, considered advisable to pass a resolution (XIII) limiting the total number of delegates to one thousand, who were to represent the people of India in the proportion of 5 persons per million. The number of delegates remained below the limit thus prescribed for the next four years. But it rose to 1163 in the Madras session in 1894 and to 1584 in the Poona session in 1895. It is needless to say that the proportion of 5 delegates for a million population was never

observed so far as the province providing the venue of the Congress was concerned. The following chart illustrates the point :—

Delegates from the Provinces

Year	Venue	Total no. of delegates	Bengal including Bihar Orissa, Assam	N. W. P. and Oudh	Punjab	Bombay & Sind	C. P. & Berar	Madras
1890	Calcutta	702	377	148	18	47	29	58
1891	Nagpur	812	73	56	5	137	480	61
1892	Allahabad	625	105	323	19	77	63	38
1893	Lahore	867	59	133	481	124	39	31
1894	Madras	1163	30	13	4	132	37	947
1895	Poona	1584	51	24	3	1257	131	118
1896	Calcutta	784	605	60	7	52	31	28
1897	Amraoti	692	33	10	1	17	593	38
1898	Madras	614	38	11	1	27	18	519
1899	Lucknow	1740	57	603	26	36	6	12
1900	Lahore	567	38	39	421	57	3	9

The proceedings of the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1890 gives a glimpse of the way in which the Subjects Committee was selected in those days.

The Calcutta circle was allowed 25 members of whom 11 represented Calcutta proper, 2 Nadia and 1 each Jessore, Narail (a village in the Jessore district), Murshidabad, Burdwan, Hooghly, Howrah, Midnapore, Tipperah, Sylhet, Assam and Orissa. The Dacca circle had 6 members consisting of 3 from Dacca, and 1 each from Bakerganj, Mymensingh and Tangail. Rajshahi circle had 3—1 each from Rajshahi, Bogra and Pabna. Bhagalpur circle had 5 consisting of 3 from Bhagalpur, 1 from Purnea and 1 from Monghyr. Chotanagpur was represented by one member. The Bihar circle had 7 seats for which Bankipur provided 3, Patna 2 and Muzaffarpur 2 members. The other circles were as follows :

Benares circle 5—Benares 3, Mirzapur 2.

North West Province circle 12—Allahabad 5, Aligarh 1, Cawnpur 2, Mathura 1, Mainpuri 1, Meerat 1, Almora 1.

Punjab circle 8—Lahore 3, Amritsar 2, Kangra 1, Ambala 1, and Jalandhar 1.

Delhi circle—3

Gujrat circle—1

Bombay circle—3

Deccan circle—4

Sholapur circle—1

Berar circle 3—1 each from Akola, Amraoti and Illichpur.

Madras circle—16—Madras 4, Madura 2, Tanjore 2, Vizianagaram 2, and one each from Dindigal, Coimbatore, Salem, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Cuddalore. Ex-officio—7, Total 116.

The number of representatives on the Subjects Committee was fixed not on the basis of importance or population of the places concerned but on the presence of suitable number of persons from each area. The allotment of seats naturally varied from year to year and from one venue of the Congress to another. The real discussion, however, took place in the Subjects Committee. It was considered improper to oppose any resolution in the general session. Thus there prevailed normally a dull atmosphere of unanimity in the open session of the Congress.

At the Nagpur session in 1891 Hume said that the traducers of the Congress had been telling people that he alone ran the Congress. As he would be away from India for one year, Indian members should show how false this charge was.

Janakinath Ghosal, who had been discharging the duties of an Assistant Secretary during the first decade of the existence of the Congress proposed the re-election of Hume as Secretary at the Lahore session in 1893 and observed : "Whether Mr. Hume can work or not, as long as he lives we can not think of severing his connection with us or with the Congress". As a matter of fact, Hume continued to be the Secretary of the Congress till 1906, though he did not come back to India after 1894. Pandit Ayodhyanath was associated with Hume as Joint Secretary in 1891 and 1892. After his premature death, Ananda Charlu was persuaded to accept the post of Joint Secretary in 1893 for only a year. D. E. Wacha became the Joint Secretary in 1896 and continued to hold the post till 1909, when he became the Secretary. He remained in that post till 1913. Gokhale was associated with him as Joint Secretary from 1904 to 1908. From 1909 to

1913. D. A. Khare continued to be the Joint Secretary. In 1914 Nawab Syed Muhammad and Subba Rao became the Secretaries of the Congress. Wacha and Gokhale became Presidents while discharging the duties of the Secretary. Nawab Syed Muhammad assumed the office of Secretary immediately after presiding over the Karachi session in 1913. He was thus the President and the Secretary throughout the year 1914 excepting the last four days. All these point out the informality of the Congress organisation.

Whenever the Congress met at Madras the question of providing a Constitution for it was raised. At the Madras session in 1894 Alfred Webb moved from the presidential chair, "that this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the Constitution of the Congress should be settled and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of delegates, their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like, and with this view the Congress requests the Standing Congress Committee of Poona to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their report; these reports, together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration." But the Poona committee is reported to have been rather late in circulating the draft rules and the other Standing Committees did not submit any report at all. When the Congress met at Poona in 1895, Janakinath Ghosal proposed that the rules drafted by the Poona Congress Committee should be circulated to all the Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report to the General Secretary and the three Standing Counsels (Ananda Charlu of Madras, Pheroze Shah Mehta of Bombay and W. C. Bonnerjee of Calcutta) at least three months before the next Congress. But strangely enough in moving the above resolution Ghosal said : "I think time has hardly arrived when we should fetter the Congress with hard and fast rules". He held that ten years was rather a short period in the life of the institution. He referred to the governance of England, which was carried on most successfully without any written Constitution. He further added that the revolutionaries in France set up a written Constitution which had to be changed thirteen times in as many years.⁴ All these were said despite the earnest appeal of Surendranath Banerjee, the President, who had warned against the procedure of circulating the draft rules to the Standing Committees "as the old plea for inaction. We shall not have

any rules at all if we are to repeat the hopeless experiment of former years". The resolution moved by Ghosal was seconded by Jaisi Ram of the Punjab. But contrary to what the mover had said he made a fervent appeal for the adoption of a Constitution as early as possible. "Every representative institution", he observed, "has got its own constitution, and it is the constitution that gives stability to institutions." He emphasised the need for having a Cabinet or Council, consisting of at least one member from each Province. Such a body should meet at least once a year for a few days in a centrally situated town. "This Council" he added, "or whatever you may call it, should consider fully how to carry out our aims and objects and what practical steps should be taken in order to further these aims." He proposed that all office-bearers should be elected and every member of the Congress should have a right to vote. He also suggested that every registered Congressman should make a regular contribution to the permanent funds of the Congress.

The difference of opinion between the mover and the seconder of the resolution has been referred to by some writers as a cleavage of views between Bengal and the Punjab. This is not a correct analysis, because Surendranath was in favour of the speedy adoption of a regular Constitution for the Congress. It appears that some of the influential leaders, belonging to the aristocratic circle, dreaded the introduction of democratic principle of election in the Congress organization. They were not willing to submit themselves to the freak chance of the ballot-box. If delegates were to be elected by vote in primaries and office-bearers chosen from amongst those who would secure the largest amount of support from their fellow-delegates, there would be little chance for men like Pherozeshah Mehta or W. C. Bonnerjee for election against persons like Tilak and Surendranath Banerjee.

Though no Constitution could be framed during the succeeding three years—1896 to 1898, yet some rules for conducting the business of the meeting were adopted in 1895 on the motion moved by Ghosal. These had been for the first time framed in 1892. They were read out and adopted from time to time. These embodied some of the basic principles of regulating the procedure of public meeting, e. g., that on any point of order the decision of the President was to be final; that

speaker must stop when the time allotted for his speech expired. There were several rules which were specially meant for meeting the exigencies of the situation. For example, it was laid down that no one who was not a delegate would be allowed to address the Congress. But this rule was not always strictly adhered to. We occasionally find some speakers whose names do not occur in the Delegates' list. Srikrishna Sinha, who later on rose to be the Chief Minister of Bihar, delivered his maiden speech on the condition of ryots under indigo planters in the Lucknow Congress in 1916, but we could not find his name in the Delegates' list for that year. Another rule adopted in 1895 provided that any one wishing to propose any amendment to any resolution must send to the President a slip of paper containing the amendment, his name and that of the seconder, as also the names of the Congress circles to which they respectively belonged. The memorable notice of amendment which Tilak sent in the Surat Congress did not contain the name of the seconder. But no one has as yet pointed out that the notice was irregular on that account. The rules were not obviously followed with any degree of rigidity.

When the fourteenth Congress session was held in 1898 the Reception Committee of Madras exhibited their habitual enthusiasm for framing a Constitution for the Congress and circulated a draft for the same. The Congress resolved to appoint a committee consisting of President and ex-Presidents and Aswini Kumar Datta (Bengal), D. E. Wacha (Bombay), Jaisi Ram (Punjab), Ganga Prasad Varma (Oudh), Madan Mohan Malaviya (N. W. P.), R. P. Karandikar (Satara), Bapu Rao Dada (C. P.), G. Subramania Iyer (Madras) and R. N. Mudholkar (Amraoti) as members and entrusted it with the task of submitting a definite scheme to the next Congress. Lest the matter be dropped as it had been so many times in previous years, the resolution provided that the Congress Constitution must form the first subject of discussion at the next meeting. This very session also took the first step to provide a sort of Working Committee for the Congress by requesting the Standing Committees at Madras, Bombay, Nagpur, Amraoti, Calcutta, Allahabad and Lahore to form Central Committees in their respective provinces for furthering the objects of the Congress. Such Central Committees were required to submit annually at the meeting of the Congress a report of the work carried out during the year. The scheme was an excellent one. But we do

not get any such report in the proceedings of the Congress for 1899 or subsequent years, nor are they referred to anywhere.

The efforts which had begun in 1887 were at last crowned with success in 1899. This time the President (Romesh Chandra Dutt), who was a seasoned administrator, did not allow any further opportunity for foundering the scheme as Ghosal had done four years earlier, and proposed the Constitution from the Chair with the following observation : "We have taken two days to consider the Rules of the Constitution which were framed by the Committee appointed for that purpose ; we have consulted all the leading members of the Congress and carefully revised these rules and I wish with your permission to read them for your acceptance."

The Constitution was purposely made vague and indefinite in certain sections. The object of the Congress was stated to be "to promote by constitutional means the interests and well-being of the people of Indian empire". No one evinced any sign of conscientious objection to such an objective. The right of electing delegates was given not only to political associations and other bodies but also to *ad hoc* public meetings. No limit was placed to the number to be elected by any one body or a meeting. The affairs of the Congress were to be managed by a Committee known as the Indian Congress Committee, consisting of 45 members, 40 of whom were to be elected upon the recommendation of different provincial Congress Committees or by delegates of the respective provinces in the Congress and 5 to be elected by the General Body. Bengal (including Assam), Bombay (including Sind), Madras (including Secunderabad) were to elect 8 each, N. W. P. and Oudh 6, Punjab 4 and Berar and C. P., 3 each. The Committee was to meet three times a year—immediately before and after the Congress and once in mid-months. For the first time it dawned upon the minds of the leaders of the Congress that the Honorary Secretary should be helped by a paid Assistant Secretary. A sum of Rs. 5,000/- (per year) was provided for the Assistant Secretary and his office-staff. This amount was to be subscribed in equal proportion by the Reception Committee of the place where the last Congress was held and that of the place where the succeeding Congress would be held. Alfred Nandy, a Barrister-at-law and Journalist was appointed as the first Assistant Secretary. In accordance with the resolution passed in 1898 it was provided in the new

Constitution that Provincial Congress Committees should be organised at the capitals of different Presidencies and Provinces for carrying on the work of political education and should submit annual report of their work. This is the first indication after the circulation of the *Tamil Catechism* of the change of emphasis from the propaganda work in England to the creation of public opinion in India. But very little practical work was done in this direction before the emergence of Home Rule movement. The Congress Constitution provided that the nomination of President, drafting of rules and all other business should be done by the Congress Committee. The Congress Committee was empowered to frame rules for "the election of delegates, election of speakers and the conduct of proceedings of the Congress". These rules, of course, had to be submitted to the Congress for its approval.

How far were the provisions of the Constitution carried into effect? The first Congress Committee was appointed, apparently without any voting, in the Lucknow session itself in 1899.* The ex-Presidents present in India were not automatically included in it. But in the list of names of members of the Committee in 1900 we find a new category of ex-officio members including the President of the current session, all ex-Presidents present in India, Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Congress and the Chairman and Secretary

*The first Congress Committee consisted of the following :

General : (1) W.C. Bonnerjee (2) Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerjee (3) Hon'ble Ananda Charlu (4) Hon'ble Pherozeshah M. Mehta (5) Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.

Bengal : (1) A. M. Bose (2) Kali Charan Banerjee (3) Bhupendranath Bose (4) Hon'ble Baikuntha Nath Sen (4) Ambica Charan Mazumdar (5) J. Ghosal (7) Asvini Kumar Datta (8) Dip Narayan Sinha (Bhagalpur).

N. W. P. and Oudh : (1) Hon'ble Pandit Bishambhar Nath (2) Ganga Prasad Varma (3) Madan Mohan Malaviya (4) Alfred Nandy (5) Bishan Narayan Dar (6) Hafeez Abdul Raheem.

Bombay : (1) D. E. Wacha (2) Hon'ble Chandavarkar (3) W. A. Chambers (4) R. M. Sayani (5) Daji Abaji Khare (6) Chiman A. Sitalvad (7) R. P. Karandikar (8) Tahirram Khem Chand.

Punjab : (1) Lala Kanhaiya Lal (2) Sirdar Jhenda Singh (3) Lala Harkishan Lal (4) Jaist Ram.

C. P. (1) Bapuras Dada (2) Bhagirath Prasad (3) H. V. Kelkar.

Berar (1) Deorao Vinayak (2) M. V. Joshi (3) G. S. Khaparde.

Madras : (1) Hon'ble C. Vijai Raghava Achariar (2) Hon'ble C. Jambulinga Mudaliar (3) Hon'ble G. Venkatratnam (4) C. Sankaran Nair (5) Rangiah Naidu (6) P. Ram Chandra Pillai (7) G. Subramania Iyer (8) R. V. Nambyar. •

- of the Reception Committee. The number of members from Bengal, Bombay and Madras was reduced from 8 to 7 each and it was increased by 1 in the case* of N W. Province and Oudh and by 2 in the case of the Punjab. The members elected to it were too busy to attend the meeting of the Congress Committee even once a year. The whole scheme appears to have been given up in 1901 as names of members of such Committees do not occur in the Report of that year.

As there was no Indian Congress Committee it was not clear as to which body had the right to nominate the President. In 1902 the Reception Committee at Ahmedabad selected Surendranath Banerjee as the President without consulting the Congress Committees of different provinces. This was made a ground for complaint by both G. Subramania Iyer and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, both of whom pleaded that the old custom of consulting the provincial committees should have been followed.

Another attempt was made in 1904 to frame a workable constitution for the Congress. An influential Committee consisting of leaders was appointed with the direction that it was to submit its report by the 1st of July, 1905. But the official report of the Congress in 1905 does not reveal that any step was taken in this direction. The Benares Congress session merely appointed a Standing Committee of 15 persons, which was empowered to take such steps during the year as might be necessary to give effect to the resolution of the Congress. In 1906 another attempt was made to revive the Central Standing Committee for the whole of India to carry out the Resolutions of the Congress and deal with urgent questions that might arise in the Congress. The clause inserted in 1900 regarding the inclusion of ex-Presidents, and Assistant Secretary of the Congress and Chairman of the Reception Committee was substituted by the provision that only the President of the year and the General Secretaries would be ex-officio members. The number of members from Madras, and Bombay was again raised to 8 each. Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Burma together was given 12 representatives. The U. P. and the Punjab and C. P. and Berar were given 6 members each. The following procedure was adopted for the selection of the President : The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress was to be held should organise a Reception Committee in

such manner as it deemed proper for making arrangements for the Congress session, and the choice of the President should in the first instance, rest with the Reception Committee, if after consulting Provincial Congress Committees, the Reception Committee is able to make the choice by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members. If, however, no such majority could be obtained to support the nomination of any person, the question should be referred to the Central Standing Committee and the decision of this Committee should be final.

The Nationalists as well as the Constitutionalists were eager to capture the majority in the Reception Committee which was formed at Nagpur in August 1907 so that they could get the person of their own choice elected as President. The Nationalists, bent upon getting Tilak elected as President, enrolled 1800 members, while the Constitutionalists were able to recruit only 800 members. But the Nationalists found that even their overwhelming number would not give them the requisite three-fourth majority. The Constitutionalists represented to the Central Committee that it was impossible to hold the Congress at Nagpur. The Central Committee decided to hold the Congress at Surat in 1907. The tragic incidents at Surat compelled the Moderates to frame an elaborate Constitution and to prescribe lengthy rules under it. A close study of these reveal that the principal motive of the Moderate leaders was to shut out the Extremists or Nationalists from the Congress.

The Constitution of 1908 was made under peculiar circumstances. It was passed not by the entire body of the Congress but by a Committee appointed by a Convention. Within a few hours of the breaking up of the Surat Congress on the 27th December, a number of leading Moderates met at the quarters of Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta and decided to convene a National Convention the next day at 1 p.m. in the Congress Pandal. The Convention was attended only by those who were prepared to accept in writing the following creed : (1) "That the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and participation by her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members, is the goal of our political aspiration. (2) That the advance towards the goal is to be by strictly constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of adminis-

tration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and improving the condition of the mass of the people." Over nine hundred persons attended the Convention and signed the creed.

A statement signed by Tilak, Khaparde, Sri Aurobindo, B. C. Chatterjee and H. C. Mukerjee issued on December 31, 1907 declared that in the Convention of the Moderates, "the Nationalists were not allowed to go even when some of them were ready and offered to sign, the declaration required."⁶ The Nationalist leaders asserted that the creed was really written by Gokhale as a part of draft constitution which was published a day or two before the meeting of the Surat Congress. This draft provided that those only who accepted the creed were to be members of Provincial and District Congress Committees and these alone would elect the delegates of the Congress from 1908 onwards. On this the Nationalists remarked: "It will at once be seen that the new Constitution intended to convert the Congress from a national into a sectional movement. The goal of Swaraj on the lines of self-governing colonies as settled last year was to be given up; and in its stead self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members (not necessarily self-governing) of the British Empire, was to be set up as the ultimate goal, evidently meaning, that it was to be considered as out of the pale of practical politics."⁷

The Convention of the Moderates appointed, on the motion moved by Gokhale, a Committee to draw up a Constitution on the lines laid down in the declaration of the creed. The Committee met at Allahabad on the 18th and 19th April, 1908 and adopted the Constitution. On the 10th April, 1908, Sri Aurobindo declared at a meeting held at the Panti's Math, Calcutta that the Nationalists were ready to condone the irregularity committed by the Moderates at Surat, "if a united Congress is to be held on the basis of the Calcutta (Congress) resolutions. If the other party does not accept, the responsibility of breaking-up of the Congress and having a party institution in its place will be on their shoulders. Our position is, let us work on our different party lines through our own institutions, but at the same time let us have the united Congress of the whole people."⁸ The Moderate leaders did not agree to this.

The Constitution framed and adopted by the Committee came into force without being endorsed by the Congress; as we find that the

President and Secretaries of the Convention Committee were entrusted with the duty of arranging a meeting of the Congress in December, 1908 in accordance with the new Constitution.

The new Constitution prescribed a fee of Rs. 20 for the Delegates (Art. XXI), Rs. 5 for the members of the Provincial Congress Committee (Art. VIII) and Rupee One for the members of the District Congress Committee (Art. X). Every delegate and every member of the Provincial, District or other Congress Committees was required to express in writing his acceptance of the following objects of the Congress :

“The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.” They had also to give in writing that they were willing to abide by the Constitution and the rules made thereunder.

The framers of the Constitution suspected that some Extremists might subscribe to the objects and later on create trouble. With a view to shutting them out of the Congress it was provided that the right of electing delegates should vest exclusively in (1) the British Committee of the Congress; (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated and (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than three years' standing as might be recognised by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belonged. But here, too, it was provided that no such Political Association or Public Body would be so recognised unless the said Political Association or Public Body, by a Resolution at a General Meeting of its members, express its acceptance of the Objects of the Congress.

No attempt was made in the Constitution to lay down the number of delegates which any Association, Public Body, District Committee or Provincial Committee was to elect. There was no safeguard against

the swamping of the Congress by a particular locality or association. For the first time Bihar, Berar and Burma were recognised as separate entities for the election of the All-India Congress Committee. The Constitution refused to recognise the existence of the Eastern Bengal and Assam as a Province and decided to allocate 20 seats to the United Bengal in the AICC. Madras, Bombay and U. P. were given 15 seats each; the Punjab including N. W. Frontier Province 13 seats; Central Province 7 seats, Bihar and Berar 5 seats each and Burma 2 seats. As the Government encouraged and recognised separate electorate, the Moderate leaders came forward with the generous offer that "as far as possible one-fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mohamedans."

These leaders entertained grave suspicion about the impulsiveness or proneness for disorderly behaviour of the general body of members. They, therefore, vested almost autocratic powers in the All-India Congress Committee. Article XVIII laid down : It will be the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to take such step as it may deem expedient and practicable to carry on the work and propaganda of the Congress and it shall have the power to deal with all such matters of great importance or urgency as may require to be disposed of in the name of and for the purpose of the Congress, in addition to matters specified in this Constitution as falling within its powers and functions. The decision of the All-India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it. But it is surprising that the body which was entrusted with so much power had no funds of its own. It is laid down in the Constitution that "The All-India Congress Committee shall make adequate provision for the expenses of the work devolving on the general secretaries, either out of the surplus at the disposal of the Reception Committee or by calling upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make such contribution as it may deem fit to apportion among them." The Provincial Congress Committees had slender resources and were not very willing to make contribution to the All-India Congress Committee. The Reception Committee usually spent all they collected. Moreover, the Reception Committee was required to remit to the British Committee of the Congress half the amount of the fees received by it from dele-

gates. The number of delegates declined heavily when the Moderates kept out their rivals. In 1906 the number was 1663, but in 1908 it fell to 626, which declined further to 243 in 1909. For the next four years, 1910 to 1913, the delegates who attended the Congress numbered 636 at Allahabad, 446 in Calcutta, 207 at Patna and 349 at Karachi.

The new Constitution made elaborate rules for the election of the President. But some vagueness was probably maintained purposely. It did not clearly state whether the Reception Committee was to be guided by the opinion of the majority of the Provincial Committees. Article XXIII ran as follows :

“In the month of June, the Reception Committee shall consult the several Provincial Congress Committees as to the selection of the President for the year's Congress. The Provincial Congress Committees shall make their recommendations by the end of July, and in the month of August the Reception Committee shall meet to consider the recommendations. If a person be recommended by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to elect the President in the manner mentioned above, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September, in either case, the election shall be final. Provided that in no case shall the person so elected President, belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.”

Safeguard against the recurrence of the Surat incident was provided in the following clause : There shall be no formal election of the President by or in the Congress, but merely the adoption (in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule 3, Clause (b) of the “Rules” hereto appended) of a formal Resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner herein above laid down, to take the Chair. Thus the Constitution clearly laid down that the Resolution for the election of the President was a formal one. To leave no loophole Rule No. 3 prescribed that after the inaugural address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee there would be the adoption of a formal Resolution, to be moved, seconded and supported by such delegates as the Chairman of the Reception Committee invites or permits, requesting the President elected

by the Reception Committee or the All-India Congress Committee as the case might be, to take the chair, no opposition by way of a motion for amendment, adjournment or otherwise being allowed to postpone or prevent the carrying out of the said Resolution.

Lest any Delegate took it into his head to oppose the Resolution or in any way behave in a disorderly manner Rule 25 provided for his suspension as follows. If a person does not obey the President's or the Chairman's orders or if he is guilty of disorderly conduct, the President shall have the right with a warning in the first instance, and without a warning in case of contumacious disregard of his authority, to ask such member to leave the precincts of the House, and on such requisition, the member so ordered shall be bound to withdraw and shall be suspended from his functions as a member during the day's sitting. For graver offences the President might ask the Congress to expel the member from the entire Congress session.

The Constitution was intended to be a rigid one. So far as the creed or object of the Congress was concerned it could not be altered or modified in any way except by unanimous vote of all the Provinces. The other Articles of the Constitution and the Rules made under it could be changed only if the alteration was approved by the Subjects Committee and in the open session it was passed by two-thirds of the votes of the Provinces. It is not clear whether this clause meant that all the nine Provinces were required to vote for the proposed amendment of the Constitution or whether in each of the nine Provinces a two-third majority was necessary. In any case the alteration of the Constitution was made as difficult as possible.

In July 1909 Sri Aurobindo wrote an indictment of the Congress Constitution thus: "The body which at present calls itself the Congress, has adopted a constitution which is close, exclusive, undemocratic and so framed as to limit the free election of delegates by the people. It limits itself by proposing a number of articles of faith in a particular form of words to every intending delegate before he can take his seat; it aims at the election of delegates only by select bodies and associations instead of the direct election of the people; it excuses many from the chances of election and gives them an undue weight in the disposal of the affairs of the assembly. These and similar provisions no democratic party can accept." But he expressed his willingness to have a rapprochement with the Moderate

party and the reconstitution of a united Congress. He, however, withdrew from active politics shortly afterwards and Lokmanya Tilak remained confined to Jail till June 17, 1914. A fruitless attempt was made by Mrs. Annie Besant to get the Congress Constitution amended with a view to making the entry of Tilak and his associates feasible. Pheroze Shah Mehta was dead against such a proposal. He invited the Congress to Bombay and got S. P. Sinha elected as President for 1915 so that there might not be any chance of modification of the Congress Constitution. The death of Mehta and Gokhale made it possible to introduce suitable changes in it.

No change was effected in the creed of the Congress. Tilak was willing to subscribe to it. The most important amendment related to the addition of Clause 6 to the Bodies having the right of electing delegates. It provided that public meetings convened under the auspices of any Association, which was of not less than two years' standing on the 31st December, 1915, would have the right of sending fifteen delegates. Such Associations were not required to be affiliated to the Provincial or District Congress Committees. But it was necessary for them to accept by a special resolution the Congress creed and notify to that effect to the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province concerned. The All-India Congress Committee, however, got the right to disqualify any such Political Association or Body at any time. The fee for a Delegate was reduced from Rs. 20 to Rs. 10.

The Constitution of 1915 allowed the subjects of the Indian States to come within the fold of the Congress. The Nizam's Dominions, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin were assigned to Madras; and Baroda, Kathiawar and Southern Maratha States to Bombay.

The Reception Committee was required to remit to the British Committee of the Congress "the amount of the fees received by it from delegates, subject to a minimum of rupees three thousand." This practically meant that the expenses of the Congress session were to be met out of the donations and subscriptions raised from the members of the Reception Committee. The entire amount of the fees received from the Delegates was to be sent to the British Committee.

The ambiguity related to the election of the President was thus clarified in the new Constitution.

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as

possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Congress Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendation, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one, but not more, of such names, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or, in case of emergency by resignation, death, or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

Thus at long last the centre of gravity was shifted from the Reception Committee to the Provincial Congress Committees in the matter of Presidential election. Even within the framework of such a Constitution the Nationalists were able to command a majority in 1916 and 1917 and to drive away the Moderates from the Congress soon afterwards.

CHAPTER III

THE ERA OF FAITH, PRAYER AND UNANIMITY (1889-1904)

The Congress leaders incurred the displeasure of the Government on account of their experiment with the mass contact in 1887-88. No further attempt was made on behalf of the Congress organization to carry on propaganda amongst the common people either in rural or in urban area during the remaining years of the nineteenth century. In its place was substituted earnest efforts to educate the British public, the real masters of the destiny of India. The British India Association, the Bombay Association and the Madras Native Association appointed Agents in the United Kingdom to press upon the authorities the acceptance of the Memorials they had submitted in 1852-1853. In 1879 the Indian Association sent Lalmohan Ghosh as its delegate to England to make agitation for raising the maximum age of candidates for the I. C. S. examination. He went there again in 1883 to emphasise the need for having some representatives of Indian interests in Parliament. In a speech delivered on August 7, 1884 at the Westminster Palace Hotel he said that in India "The pettiest English official assumes all the airs and enjoys more than all the immunity of the Czar of all the Russians."¹ He regretted that the House of Commons was too busy, too overworked and too little acquainted with Indian affairs, to bestow any attention or to exercise any vigilant control over Government officials in India. If some members asked some questions regarding any aspect of the problems of Indian administration, most unsatisfactory answers were given to these. These answers were prepared by the retired Anglo-Indian officers, who reigned supreme at the India Office. They endeavoured to justify the action of local authorities by ingenious distortion of facts. He further complained that the English nation and the English Parliament knew so little about them that it seemed that no portion of the responsibility for the good government of India belonged to them. The remedy he suggested for this state of affairs was to make India a member of the Imperial Federation. He observed : "I believe it would be greatly to the advantage of both, if the Indian people were made to feel that they were no longer treated as a hostile and

conquered race but as members of a great and free Empire—not less entitled, perhaps, than the Australian Colonies, to take part in a scheme of Imperial Federation such as has been lately talked of.”^a Lalmohan Ghosh was twice selected as a candidate for election to Parliament by the Liberal Party. He could not succeed indeed, but his failure paved the way for the success of Dadabhai Naoroji in 1892. A few months before the foundation of the Congress the three Presidencies sent one delegate each to England for making propaganda in England. These were Monomohan Ghosh of Calcutta, N. G. Chandavarkar of Bombay and Salem Ramswami Mudaliyar of Madras

A new chapter in the history of Indian propaganda in Great Britain began in 1889 when Charles Bradlaugh attended the Congress session held in Bombay. Sir William Wedderburn, who had retired from the Indian Civil Service only two years ago, was its President. He was happy over the going to England of a deputation to appeal to the people there to perform their duty towards the unrepresented millions of India. In his Presidential address he asserted with confidence that ‘appeals to unselfishness, to justice and to humanity will ever find a sure response from the great heart of the British people.’ The vast number of delegates and visitors assembled in the Bombay Congress believed that if persons like Hume, Yule, Wedderburn and Bradlaugh were taking so much interest in the political uplift of India, it would be possible to touch the heart and conscience of the British people by making more intensive propaganda in England. Bradlaugh was acclaimed as the Member for India. He had already drafted a bill for the reform of the legislative councils in India. The bill had to be dropped after its first reading because there was vehement opposition against it in the British Press. Bradlaugh, however, was lionised by the Congressmen at the Bombay Congress. The Congress framed a skeleton scheme of constitutional reform and asked the President to submit it to Charles Bradlaugh with the respectful request to cause another Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated therein.

In July 1889 the British Committee of the Congress was formed. The Bombay session of the Congress passed a formal resolution confirming the appointment of Sir William Wedderburn and Messrs W.S. Caine, S. Bright Maclaren, J. E. Ellis, Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule as members of the Committee with W. Digby as Secretary to

guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England. It is noteworthy that while a sum of Rs. 5000 only was sanctioned for the salary of Assistant Secretary, clerical staff, postage and printing charges in India, the expenses sanctioned for the British Committee of the Congress amounted to Rs. 40,000. This is an indication of the relative importance of propaganda work in England and India. The Congress formally appointed George Yule, A.O. Hume, Adam, Eardley Norton, J. E. Howard, Pherozechah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjee, Manomohan Ghosh, Sharf-ud-din, N. Mudholkar and W.C. Bonnerjee to represent the views of the Congress in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reform advocated by the Congress. Many of the Indian gentlemen, however, could not proceed to England.

The Congress met in 1890 in Calcutta under the presidency of Pherozechah Mehta. As Chairman of the Reception Committee the previous year he had claimed that the Congressmen were more loyal than the Anglo-Indians, the term applied to the British officials serving in India. Now he ridiculed their pretension to look after the interests of the masses in India in the following words : "We have also proved that, in spite of our education, and even with our racial and religious differences, the microscopic minority can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and the aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the omniscient district officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English possessed, for instance, by French waiters of Paris hotels which proudly blazon forth the legend *Ici on parle Anglais*". The Congressmen of this period lost their faith in the disinterestedness and good wishes of the British officers serving in India. But all of them retained their faith in the nobility and humanitarian spirit of the British public and the British Parliament. They, therefore, passed a resolution in the Calcutta Congress in 1890 to the effect that provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress of not less than one hundred delegates in England in 1892. The Standing Congress Committees were directed to report at the Congress of 1891, the names of the delegates of their respective circles to the Congress session in England. At the Nagpur Congress, however, it was resolved on December 30, 1891 that in view of the general Election

then impending in England, and in accordance with the recommendation of the British Committee, the arrangements for holding the session in England be suspended.

On February 16, 1892 Hume wrote a confidential letter to the Congress Committees of different Provinces asking them to circulate it to every member of the Congress. In this letter he traduced the European officials in India and asked Congressmen to intensify their propaganda in England. He wrote : "Here in India, we pray, we argue we protest, to men who cannot, or will not hear, cannot or will not see. Our only hope lies in the awakening of the British public to a sense of the wrong of our people—to a consciousness of the unwisdom and injustice of the existing administration. The least that we could do would be to provide ample funds for sending and keeping constantly in England deputations of our ablest speakers to plead their country's cause—to enable our British Committee to keep up an unbroken series of public meetings, whereat the true state of affairs in India might be expounded—to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and magazine articles—in a word, to carry on an agitation there, on the lines and scale of that in virtue of which the Anti-Corn Law League triumphed".⁹ The analogy was most misleading. Bright and Cobden carried on the propaganda amongst their own people, and not in a foreign country. The Congress gave up the attempt to educate the Indian people as to how to carry on constitutional agitation amongst their fellow countrymen. It was asked to concentrate all its efforts on convincing the British people that it was to their interest to reform the machinery of administration in India. Hume raised the spectre of a revolution impending in India on account of hunger and misery of the masses. Addressing the educated classes he said : "Your homes, your little properties, your lives and those, it may be, even of all dearest and nearest to you, are at stake. Cherish no false hopes. You are the creation of Great Britain—of British learning, history and literature, and with British Rule you stand or fall. On the peaceful continuance of that Rule depend all that is dear to you in this life, all your earthly hopes; but that peaceful continuance can only be ensured by securing those fundamental firm— in the policy and practice of that administration that you Caine, S. ted in Congress."

Yule as "strange irony of fate that Hume was termed a rank

seditionist for circulating this circular. Mr. Maclean said in the House of Commons that he had with him extracts of a letter by Mr. Hume, Secretary of the Congress, a pensioner of the Government, who under a less mild rule than the British would have been hanged or shot as a traitor.⁴ Indian leaders of the Congress also repudiated the circular and stopped its circulation. While Pandit Bishumbar Nath of the Allahabad Standing Committee politely refused to circulate the letter, Pherozeshah Mehta and D. E. Wacha of the Bombay Standing Committee wired to Hume to withdraw it. As Hume refused to do so, the Committee formally declined to circulate it. Thus we find that these leaders were much more cautious than Hume. Eardley Norton said in a public lecture in Madras that the letter breathed nothing but a simple strain of the purest loyalty to the Queen. He could not find one single trace in the manifesto which justified the most caustic critic in saying that Hume acted with any hostility towards the Government of India.⁵ Amongst the Indian Congressmen Tilak and Agarkar were the only persons to uphold the standpoint of Hume. Tilak characterised all efforts to dub Hume as seditionist as acts of cowardice and ingratitude.⁶

All the Congressmen in this period considered the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation in 1858 as their Magna Carta. They believed that all the demands made by the Congress were strictly within the rights accorded in these charters. They had every reliance on the sense of equity, justice and magnanimity of the British Parliament. They felt that they would get their due if only their case was fairly placed before public and the legislature of the United Kingdom.

The leaders of the Congress were fully convinced that the British rule was the best for India and they hoped and prayed for its perpetuation. Their hopes and aspirations can be gleaned from their public utterances.

W. C. Bonnerjee said in 1885—"Our desire to be governed according to the ideas of Government prevalent in Europe is in no way incompatible with our thorough loyalty to the British Government. All we ask is that the basis of the Government shall be widened, and that the people shall have their proper and legitimate share in it."⁷ In 1892 he pleaded for "the same facilities of national life that exist in Great Britain itself."⁸ Dadabhai Naoroji believed that the British people would gladly concede what Indians said after due

deliberation. He observed in his Presidential address in 1886 :
 "We should, therefore, persevere, having confidence in the conscience of England, and resting assured that the English nation will grudge no sacrifice to do whatever is just and right."⁹

Sir William Wedderburn said in 1889 that the practical objects of the Congress were to revive the national life and the material prosperity of the country. "Its methods are open and constitutional and based solely upon India's reliance on British justice and love of fair play."¹⁰

Surendranath Banerjea said at Poona in 1895 that the West owed a heavy debt to the East and that it could be repaid by the political enfranchisement of Indians. He appealed to England to give to her brown children what she had given to her white ones.¹¹

Ananda Mohan Bose observed in 1898 : "With truer knowledge and keener sympathy many things will assume a different aspect, and our rulers will see things with new eyes. For indeed, love and sympathy work miracles, in the political, no less than in the moral or spiritual world."

In 1897 G. K. Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjea, D. E. Wacha and Subramania Iyer went to England to press forward the claim of Congress for a greater share in the administration of the country. The last two were there for giving evidence before the Welby Commission. They issued a joint statement against some utterances of Lord George Hamilton, the then Secretary of State for India. They wrote : "Your Lordship has been pleased to make the remark to the effect that it is no use our exalting British rule when we seek to destroy everything which can make that rule possible and beneficent. We desire to point out that we regard the British connection as being highly beneficial to India, but our complaint is that the form of Government which exists now in India prevents the people from reaping the fullest benefits to be derived from that connection. The Congress party seeks to remove those features in British India Administration which interfere with its usefulness and beneficence. If the British connection is to be permanent, as we pray it will be, the Government must cease to be a military despotism—its foundations must be shifted, and its policy and its principles must be in harmony with popular ideals, hopes and aspirations. This is the great work which the Congress has set before it, and in this work it confidently appeals to the

sympathies of all Englishmen, no matter to what party they may belong to." ^{12(a)} This statement does not specifically mention what changes were desired in the Government of India. It merely says that the policy and principles of Government must be in harmony with popular ideals. If by the word 'popular' was meant the views of the common people, the inarticulate masses of India, there would have been, possibly, no change in the system of Government, as they still looked upon the foreign rulers as the *ma-bap* (father and mother). But the Congressmen claimed to represent the masses and speak on behalf of them. In 1896 Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitra had written as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Session of the Congress that "in all ages it had been true that those who think must govern those who toil : and could it be believed that this natural order of things does not hold good in this unfortunate country?" Another significant point in this statement is that its four worthy signatories styled themselves as the office-bearers of Provincial bodies and not the representatives of the Indian National Congress. Thus Surendranath Banerjea signed as the Secretary of the Indian Association, D. E. Wacha as the Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association and Joint Secretary of the Congress, G. K. Gokhale as the Secretary of Deccan Sabha, Poona and G. Subramania Iyer as the Delegate of the Madras Mahajana Sabha. They probably held that this sort of designation would impress the British public and the Secretary of State for India more, because they would think that the different public bodies in India were expressing their views.

In his Presidential address at the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1899 Romesh Chandra Dutt, who had retired from the I. C. S. in 1897, said that he could not believe that India would ever seek secession from the British Empire. He added : "Educated India has practically identified itself with British rule, seeks to *perpetuate* British rule, is loyal to British rule, because it is by a continuance of British rule that educated India seeks to secure that large measure of self-government and that position among the modern nations of the earth which it is our aim and endeavour to secure." ¹³

This was not the isolated opinion of a retired official, but the considered view of practically all the leaders of the Congress excepting

perhaps a handful of persons. In 1902 Surendranath Banerjee said in his Presidential address at the Ahmedabad Congress : "We have no higher aspiration than this, that we should be admitted into the great confederacy of self-governing States of which England is the august mother. We are already sufficiently loyal, sufficiently attached to the British connection. But we are anxious for the *permanence* of British rule, for our permanent incorporation into the great confederacy of the British Empire."¹⁴

The glowing faith in the liberal mission of England is voiced eloquently thus by Lalmohan Ghosh in his Presidential address in Madras in 1903 : "For our part, we prefer to cling to the belief that the English people are not barbarous conquerors, but that they are champions of liberty whose divine mission it is to rekindle the torch of genius in this ancient land of civilisation and to raise it once more to a position in some degree worthy of the greatness of our past history."¹⁵

Sir Henry Cotton said in 1900 that the objective of the Congress was to achieve a sort of federation of States on the model of the United States of America under the protecting wings of Great Britain. He observed : "The ideal of an Indian patriot is the establishment of a federation of free and separate States—the United States of India—placed on a fraternal footing with the self-governing colonies; each with its own local autonomy, cemented together under the aegis of Great Britain."¹⁶

It is interesting to note that this objective was accepted in toto by the great leader of the Nationalists, Lokmanya Tilak, who admitted before Henry W. Nevins that his party did not consider the abolition of British rule a practical proposition. He said : "Unorganised, disarmed, and still disunited we should not have a chance of shaking the British suzerainty. We may have all that sort of thing to a distant time. Our object is to obtain eventually a large share in the administration of our own country. Our remote ideal is a confederacy of the Indian provinces, possessing colonial self-government with all Imperial questions set apart for the Central Government in England. Perhaps our Home Rule would take the form of Provincial Councils of fifty or sixty members, nominated or indirectly elected at first, but elected by popular vote as education became more general." "But that ideal also", he went on, "is far ahead of us—perhaps generations ahead,

What we aim at doing now is to bring pressure on the bureaucracy, to make it feel that all is not well.”¹⁷ This statement shows that even when there was an open split between the so-called Moderates and Extremists, Tilak could not believe that India would become independent within a short period of forty years after the Surat imbroglio.

As a matter of fact, upto 1904 there was hardly any difference between Tilak on the one hand and the Moderate leaders on the other so far as the aim and the method of work of the Congress were concerned. In the Bombay session of the Congress in 1904 he seconded the resolution for sending a Delegation to England moved by Sir William Wedderburn and endorsed the latter's observation to the effect that we prepare our brief here, but that brief has to be carried over to England. He added : “It is there that the judges sit, and our advocates must plead our cause before the English Judges and not before the Judges in India.”¹⁸ This does betray the mendicant mentality and not the spirit of self-reliance.

Bipin Chandra Pal called himself a Radical as early as 1887 but he thanked God for having brought the English Government to this country to work out our salvation. He emphatically stated in the Madras Congress in 1887 : “I utter the barest truth when I say that I am loyal to the British Government. It is not the language of dissimulation. I hate dissimulation. It is not the language of diplomacy. I hate the diplomacy which is not based on truth. I am loyal to the British Government, because with me loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country. I am loyal to the British Government because I believe the British Government to be an instrument in the hand of God for the salvation of my people.”¹⁹ He elucidated this statement further in course of a speech delivered at Madras in 1907 when he observed : “But in 1887, we all believed that England was conscientiously and deliberately working for the political emancipation of India. We believed that she would take us up by the hand and gradually set us in our proper place among the nations of the world. We believed that by the gradual expansion of the principles and organisation of self-government, that had been introduced by Lord Ripon, by the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils, by the introduction of large numbers of people of this country into

our public services, by opening to us the gates of the military services, by granting us the charter of free citizenship and investing us with the right of organising national militia—we hoped, we believed, in 1889, that by these means England would gradually train us up to become a free nation and take our place among the free states of the world.”³⁰ He, of course, concluded the speech by saying he was completely disillusioned in 1907. But Lala Lajpat Rai, the third member of the famous Trio, Lal-Bal-Pal, also held similar views in the period preceding the Benares Congress in 1905. In 1888 and 1889 he spoke in the Congress supporting the resolution for the reform of legislature. In 1893 he delivered a speech in support of the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. For the next six years he did not take much interest in Congress politics. In his autobiography he states that this indifference was due to the influence of some members of the Arya Samaj who held that the Congress movement would divert the energy of the Hindus from the work for Hindu solidarity and Hindu reform and set before them a task which would make the Britishers suspicious of the Hindus and thus prove an obstacle against the progress of the Hindus.³¹

Social reform was a highly controversial subject in those days. If the Arya Samajists of the Punjab were keen on reforming the Hindu society, the Sanatanists of Maharastra and Uttar Pradesh were dead against it. Dadabhai Naoroji repudiated the suggestion of the President of the first session when he said that the delegates met together as a political body to represent to the rulers their political aspirations, and not to discuss social reforms. He explained that as various classes, sects and communities were represented in the Congress and their social needs were different, it was not possible to discuss at the Congress the reform needed in any one class. He observed: “A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses.”³² This view was reiterated by Badruddin Tyabji in his Presidential address at the Madras Congress and confirmed by W. C. Bonnerjee himself at the Allahabad session in 1892. But Ranade began the practice of holding the session of the Social Reform Conference at the pandal of the Congress in 1887 and continued it without any opposition from any quarter till 1894. When arrangements

were being made to hold the Congress at Poona in 1895 Tilak raised strong objection against the continuance of this practice. The vehemence of the opposition to it was so great that at a public meeting held in the Reay Market, Shridhar Vithal Date said that if the social reformers persisted in holding the Social Reform Conference in the Congress pandal fire might break out there. Chapekar also writes in his autobiography : "Had the Social Conference been held in that pavilion, we would certainly have made an attempt to set it on fire." Tilak's argument, as expressed in his letter to the *Times of India* was that it was necessary to approach the masses for supporting the cause of the Congress; but they would not like to lend their support, directly or indirectly to the cause of social reform. He attributed a motive to his opponents : "It is this apprehension that makes the friends of the social reform restrict the scope of their work for the Congress within a safe narrow circle. Our party wishes to draw to the Congress as large a portion of the public as it possibly can irrespective of the question of social reform, the other does not wish to go much beyond the circle of friends of reform."³³ His idea of participation of the masses in the Congress at that time was that they should be mere silent spectators. He wrote in the *Mahratta* on November 10, 1895 : "The Congress will be of the people, if hundreds and thousands are allowed to take part in it by being present in or about the gathering and expressing their silent consent to what their trusted leaders have to say." Ranade agreed to shift the venue of the Social Reform Conference elsewhere.

Within a few days of the publication of Tilak's letter in the *Times of India* Damodar Hari Chapekar and his brother gave secretly a heavy blow on Patwardhan, one of the editors of the *Sudharak*, the Marathi organ of the reformists. A threatening letter, written by Chapekar, was despatched to another member of the editorial board, in course of which it was written: "Like your association for removing the obstacles in the way of widow-remarriage, (we also) have formed a society for removing the obstacles in the way of the Aryan religion that is to say, a league prepared to lay down their lives as well as to take the lives of others for the sake of that religion. This society does not want the beggarly Congress, much less the Social Conference."³⁴

Damodar Hari Chapekar was a firm believer in violence and a staunch enemy of the Congress. He wrote in his autobiography ;

“Has even one of the men famous in History ever tried to unite the world by holding National Congresses or by delivering speeches? The answer must be in the negative. It is a matter for deep regret that our educated men of the present day should not have sense enough to understand that the good of one's country is accomplished only when crores of meritorious men, reckless of their lives for the sake of their country, encounter death at the edge of sword on a battlefield, and by no other means.” He ridiculed the Congress and Congressmen. He describes the latter as merely bold in speech. “If asked by some Government officials”, he writes “or placed before a Court of Justice, they would protest against (an unfavourable) interpretation being placed upon their speeches, and would engage a pleader at some expense to defend themselves. Alas ! He reminds his countrymen of the adage ‘A thunder-cloud produces no rain, a talkative man will not act.’ ” With bitter sarcasm he writes of the comforts and luxuries provided to the delegates at the Poona Congress : “Then they are taken in tongas to the small rooms built near the Congress pavilion for their use and asked to sit on the mattresses of small but neatly made bedsteads. These rooms contained all conveniences. I do not know whether women too were provided there, but every article of food and drink was ready at hand. There was plenty of every kind of prohibited food and drink. Warm water, shower baths were also there, and after our patriots had seated themselves on beautiful square slabs in the bath-rooms, warm water showers poured down on their heads. And so they proceeded to bring about the country's good.”²⁶

Lala Munshi Ram, Pleader of Jullundhar, who later on became famous as Swami Shraddhananda was equally bitter in his criticism of the Congress in his book “Inside Congress”.

The Congress was criticised not only by the fanatical Hindus but also by eminent intellectual giants like Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore. Sri Aurobindo levelled serious charges against the Congress in the series of articles he contributed anonymously to the *Indu Prakash* in 1893. He wrote : “I say of the Congress then, this—that its aims are mistaken, and the spirit in which it proceeds towards their accomplishment is not the spirit of sincerity and whole-heartedness, and that the methods it has chosen are not the right methods, and the leaders, in whom it trusts, are not

the right sort of men to be leaders ; in brief, that we are at present the blind led, if not by the blind, at any rate by the one-eyed.”^a Swami Vivekananda appreciated the unifying work of the Congress indeed, but he criticised its indifference to the welfare of the masses. He wrote to Swami Akhandananda on February 2, 1900, “In these days of dire famine, flood, disease and pestilence, tell me where your Congressmen are ? Will it do merely to say – Hand the Government of the country over to us ? And who is there to listen to them ? If a man does work has he to open his mouth to ask for anything?”^{27(a)} Again he said : “Without the necessary preparations what will their shouting in the Congress avail ?”^{27(b)} Aswini Kumar Datta, the great leader of Barisal asked him: “Have you no faith in what Congress is doing ?” Swami Vivekananda answered: “No, I have not. But of course something is better than nothing and it is good to push the sleeping nation from all sides to wake it up. Can you tell me what Congress has been doing for the masses ? Do you think merely passing a few resolutions will bring you freedom ? I have no faith in that. The masses must be awakened first. Let them have full meals and they will work out their own salvation. If Congress does anything for them, it has my sympathy.”²⁸

It would be untrue to assert that the Congress was altogether indifferent to the lot of the masses. As a political organization it could not take upon itself humanitarian work like nursing the sick or distributing food to the famine-stricken people. But it did try to remove some of the fundamental causes responsible for flood, famine and pestilence. In 1891 the Congress passed a resolution stating that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation and that, in every decade, several millions annually perish of starvation. The Resolution further stated that this unhappy condition was due to (a) the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances of their own country (b) the extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former and (c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured. It may be noted in this connection

that the transfer of political and financial control to Indians has not put an end to the poverty of the masses. The civil and military expenditure of India has increased more than hundredfold in the Indian Republic. The Government of India has not introduced Permanent Settlement over the whole of India as was demanded by numerous Resolutions of the Congress.* On the other hand, it has been abolished where it prevailed before. In 1900 the Congress prayed that the Government should institute an enquiry into the causes of oft-recurring famines in India and adopt practicable remedies. The Resolution (No. 2) asserted that the power of resistance on the part of the people to a single failure of harvest was decreasing. In supporting this Resolution M. Moharam Ali Chisti of Lahore said that the begging for food supply from the foreign countries was humiliating and observed : "Is it consistent with our self-respect, is it consistent with our being subjects of this mighty British Empire ; is it consistent with our political status that we should every second or third year go abegging all over the world ? Is it calculated to increase our dignity amongst the nations of the world as daily and habituated recipients of charity ? Is it proper for us that we should make ourselves a burden to the rest of humanity ?" A citizen of free India may ask these very questions at the beginning of the Fourth Five Year Plan.*** But it is gratifying to note that despite chronic deficit of cereals the life expectancy has increased from 26 to 41.6 and at the same time population has risen from 285 millions in 1901 to 439 millions in 1961. Elderly persons belonging to the age group of 65 and above constitute now 3.2 per cent of the total population, whereas their percentage at the beginning of the century was negligible. This is the most cogent justification of the claims of the Congressmen that bad and wasteful administration was responsible for the misery and short life of Indians under the British rule.

Resolution XIV 1888; VII, 1889; VI, 1890; IX, 1892; X & XI in 1893; XI, 1894; X, 1895; XVII, 1896; VII, 1897; III in 1903.

In February 1966 the Pope issued an appeal to the Catholics for helping India with food. He wrote : "In India, a large country dear to us, which we have visited, hunger has reached forms of extreme gravity. Millions of human beings are so short of food as to be threatened with death." Quoted from *Indian Nation*, Feb. 22, 1966.

In 1901 the Calcutta session of the Congress expressed its considered opinion that the Government should be pleased to bestow its first and undivided attention upon the department of agriculture and adopt all those measures for its improvement and development which have made America, Russia, Holland, Belgium and several other countries so very successful in that direction. It also prayed that the Government would be pleased to establish a large number of experimental farms all over the country and would award scholarships to enable Indian students to proceed to foreign countries for the purpose of learning the methods of improving and developing agricultural resources which were in vogue in those countries. These resolutions show, indeed, the solicitude of the Congressmen for the development of agriculture but nothing was done by them beyond the passing of pious resolutions.

The murder of Rand and Ayerst at Poona in June, 1897 alarmed the Government. Lokmanya Tilak was arrested and the Natu brothers were deported. The Congress at its Amraoti session in 1897 passed a resolution deprecating the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace. The Congress urged that the Government should not keep a person arrested under the Regulations in custody for a period longer than three months without his being brought to trial before a Court of Justice. The Congress prayed that as five months had elapsed from the date of arrest of Natu brothers, the Government should either produce them before a Court of Justice for trial or release them. Vigorous protests were also made against the change in the law of Sedition. It may be pointed out in this connection that India has been under emergency ever since the Chinese invasion of 1962 and the Government of the Indian Republic has been freely using the powers under the Defence of India Rules. On February 16, 1966 the Supreme Court released a Kerala dealer in Kerosene, arrested under D. I. R. and wrote in the judgment that the Court "felt rudely disturbed by the thought that the continuous exercise of these wide powers was likely to make the conscience of the authorities insensitive if not blunt" and "might ultimately pose a serious threat to the basic values on which the democratic way of life in this country was founded." "

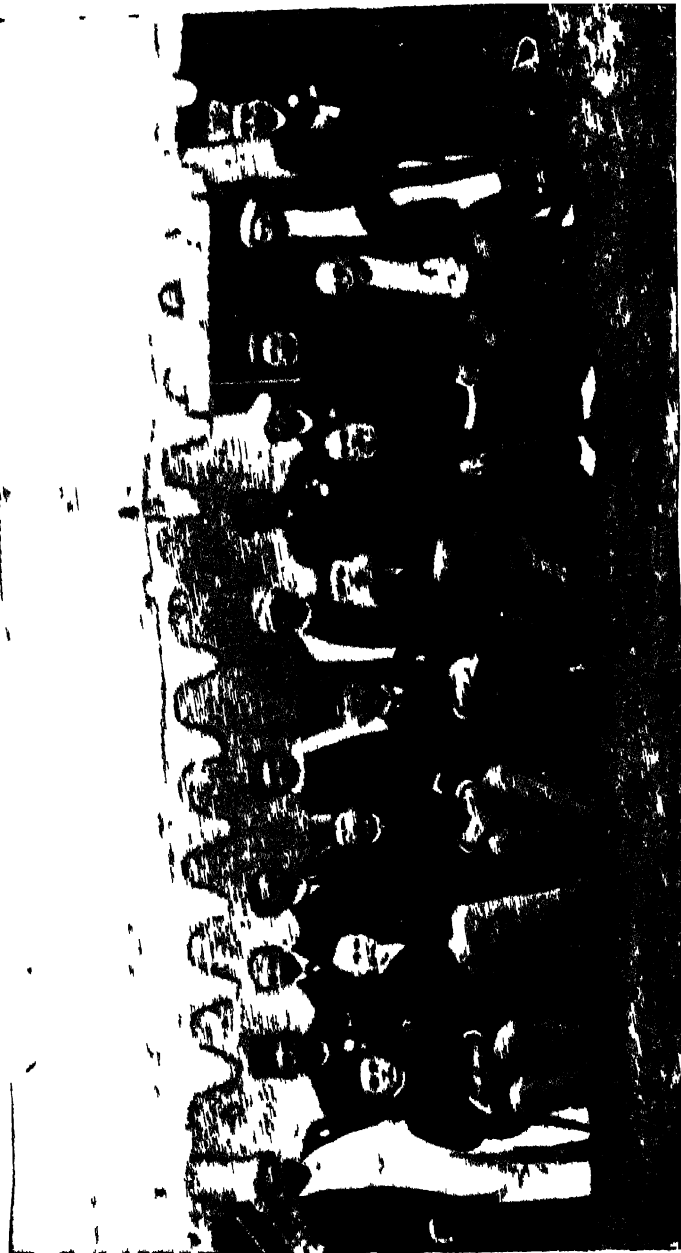
During the first twenty years of its existence the Indian National

Congress voiced the grievances of the people and drew the attention of the Government for getting those redressed. This was no doubt a highly necessary work, but little was done by the Congress beyond this. The earliest critic of the Congress from the academic world was Prof. K. Sunder Raman Iyer, who served in the Government Colleges in the Madras Presidency and yet had the courage to participate in the first session of the Congress. He wrote in 1908 a trenchant criticism against its claim to being called 'national'. He observed : "Though it calls itself national, its methods are not truly such. Our study of the progress of national movement in European countries shows that they have invariably been initiated for the overthrow of foreign supremacy and the substitution in its place of an independent Government controlled and officered by native inhabitants of these countries. The Indian National Congress has no such aim. Lansdowne, when Viceroy of India, acknowledged in handsome terms that it was a perfectly loyal and constitutional movement and the legitimate outcome of the educational and administrative policy of British Government. A political revolution has no place among the aims of the Congress party in India. Some of its leaders are Englishmen, who have held high office in India. The idea that these men are aiming at the dismemberment of the British Empire is one which can only occur to idiots and deserves no notice whatever."¹

In one respect, however, the Congressmen of this period, showed that they possibly had some idea of making India free or nearly free at a distant future. This was their repeated prayer for being allowed to enlist themselves as volunteers in the Military Corps, for setting up a Military Training Institute for Indians, for throwing open higher military posts for them and lastly for the modification of the Arms Act. Sankaran Nair, who later on rose to be the Congress President, a High Court Judge and a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, was one of the four Indians who endeavoured to enter the Madras Artillery Volunteers at the time of the Russian scare. He was admitted but soon afterwards Grant Duff, the Governor of Madras, removed him. Mr. Adam said at the Madras Congress in 1887 that later on it was discovered that there had been a mistake in interpreting the orders of the Government of India in the matter of removing Nair and others. In 1886 the Congress had prayed for the introduction of a system of Volunteering for the Indians. In 1887



First Session of the Congress, 1885



Leaders of the Congress, 1904

- Sitting* : (Left to Right) D. E. Wacha, W. W. Wedderburn, P. M. Mehta, Henry Cotton, Samuel Smith, Surendra Nath Banerjee and J. N. Ghosal.
- Standing* : (Left to Right) F. J. Lalji, H. A. Wadia, N. M. Saker, R. K. Cama, G. K. Gokhale, M. Viraraghava Chariar, G.K. Parekh, S. Vithal, Hasan Badruddin Tyabji and S.C. Sarabchikari.

and also in subsequent years this prayer was reiterated with the remark that their only object was to support the Government in a crisis that might occur. A resolution was also passed² for the modification of the Arms Act (Act XI of 1878) to enable all persons to wear arms "unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals or members of particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf) for reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published." This resolution was passed again next year but in 1889 it was toned down as follows: "The Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that license to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed whenever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only removable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly remarks." The eloquent speeches making fervent appeals to the Government to enable the citizens to protect themselves against the depredations of wild animals failed to achieve any success. It is noteworthy that there was no Resolution on the Arms Act between 1891 and 1914. In 1915 the Congress requested the Government to issue licenses liberally and not to insist on their removal. In 1916 the resolution took an entirely new form: "That in the opinion of this Congress, the Indian Arms Act should be repealed and Indians should be entitled to possess and use arms on conditions similar to those which prevail in England, power being reserved to local Governments to impose such restrictions as they may, from time to time deem fit in case of particular areas or tribes." If the Congress was intended to play the role of Her Majesty's Opposition, it did not find it practicable when it came to power, to implement many of the items of the programme it advocated in the pre-Independence era.

CHAPTER IV

THE ERA OF DISCORD AND DISILLUSION (1905—1917)

Some symptoms of rift amongst Congressmen were noticeable even as early as 1895, when Surendranath Banerjea apprehended a schism over the question of social reform. Tilak captured the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha on the 14th July, 1895 when his group was able to oust the group of Ranade and Gokhale. This triumph probably prompted him to make a bid for supplanting Gokhale in the Congress. When the latter organised a separate political association with the caption 'The Deccan Sabha', Tilak remarked : "We have been accustomed to the terms Moderates and Extremists in Social Reforms controversies. But we refuse to accept these artificial differences in Politics."¹ But on July 4, 1899 he admitted the existence of two parties even in the field of politics, though he still held that there was no substantial difference between the two. He wrote : "Both the political parties are agreed as to the rights we want to get from the rulers; both are agreed as to the need of demanding these rights from the Government and of educating the people to make such demands. If that was so, where is the room for 'moderation' and extremism."²

Lokmanya Tilak scored a notable victory over the protagonists of Social Reform Conference who had to leave the Congress pandal and make their own arrangement for holding their Conference. He made it a question of principle. He held that only a few educated persons were in favour of social reform, whereas the masses would keep away from the Congress so long as the social reform movement would be tacked on to the Congress. According to him, the question was whether the Congress should become a mass organization or remain a close preserve of the classes. Though the majority of local Congress Committees who cared to reply to the query sent by the Reception Committee at Poona, expressed in favour of holding the Conference in the Congress pandal, yet Ranade magnanimously decided to hold the Conference elsewhere. This was interpreted as a victory for Tilak and the cause of mass character of the Congress.

In 1897 the followers of Lokmanya Tilak made such a clever propaganda against Gokhale that the latter had to abstain from the

Congress platform for seven long years (1897 to 1903). Gokhale had gone to England early in 1897 to give evidence before the Welby Commission. He was then a young man of 31 only and Tilak was his senior by ten years. Gokhale got information that the soldiers at Poona were harassing the people on the plea of preventing the plague infection. He wrote a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on July 2, 1897 condemning the behaviour of these soldiers. This letter and his subsequent speech in the Conference Room of Parliament caused a sensation in England. The Secretary of State asked Lord Sandhurst, the then Governor of Bombay, to make enquiries regarding the allegations made by Gokhale. When Gokhale returned to Bombay the Government asked him to substantiate the charges. On the advice of Ranade, Gokhale tendered an apology and admitted that he had been misinformed. Tilak now accused Gokhale as a *Kachcha* reed, a man who could easily be brow-beaten by the Government. The supporters of Tilak made demonstration against Gokhale at the Amraoti session of the Congress in 1897. Great sympathy was expressed for Tilak in the session and even an attempt was made to pass a resolution demanding his release from prison. This, however, could not be passed. But C. Sankaran Nair in his Presidential address said that only 3 of the Jury were Indians and 6 Europeans and observed that Tilak would have claimed a Trial by a Jury of whom one-half were Indians if to the Indians the law allowed the same protection that it afforded to the European. He further said : "It was possible that a Native Jury, who knew the language, who were in a more favourable position to form a correct judgment of the probable and intended effect of the articles on native mind, would not have convicted; it was certain that a European Jury in that state of public excitement would convict".⁸ The effect of all these was to raise the popularity of Tilak inside the Congress and to make Gokhale unpopular with a section of Congressmen for the time being.

In 1898 Tilak attended the Madras session of the Congress after his release from jail, but he did not appear on the Congress platform as a speaker. Some of his followers tried to move a resolution expressing sympathy for his martyrdom, but as the Moderate element did not approve of it, the idea had to be dropped. Next year when the Congress met at Lucknow Tilak attended it with a large body of followers and tried to get a resolution passed condemning the regime

of Lord Sandhurst in the Bombay Presidency. But the Moderate leaders raised a technical objection to the effect that the matter was of provincial interest and as such could not be taken up at the National Congress. But Tilak pointed out that many questions relating to Provincial administration had been discussed in the past at Congress meetings. He also challenged any member to prove that Sandhurst's administration had not been harmful. Nobody took up the challenge. But when Tilak persisted in discussing it, Romesh Chandra Dutt, the President of the Congress, threatened to resign. Tilak thereupon withdrew the resolution⁴. It is noteworthy that Tilak was not elected a member of the Indian Congress Committee that year. In 1900 it was the turn of Bombay to provide the President for the Congress. But Chandavarkar was preferred to Tilak for the high honour, though the former had not attended any Congress session since 1890. It was also known that he had been selected as a Judge of the Bombay High Court and would join the Bench immediately after the Lahore session of the Congress. This is one of the many instances of the determination of the Moderate leaders to keep out Tilak from power and responsibility.

The Ahmedabad Congress in 1902 proved to be a turning point in the history of the emergence of Nationalist group in the Congress. Sri Aurobindo, then in the service of the Baroda State met Tilak here. Tilak took Sri Aurobindo out of the pandal and talked to him for an hour "expressing his contempt for the Reformist movement and explaining his own line of action in Maharashtra." ⁵ The gulf between the two sections was widening every day. Ranade had explained to Gokhale the essential features of the creed of Moderates thus : "Moderation implies the conditions of never vainly aspiring after the impossible or after too remote ideals, but striving each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of compromise and fairness." ⁶

The Moderates were satisfied with the progress of political movement ushered in by the Congress. As the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Bombay session of the Congress in 1904 Pherozeshah Mehta echoed the views of Ranade to the effect that the British rule was a divine dispensation and "that it would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will."⁷ He said that a section of the Congress had condemned it for its disappointing inutility and their denunciation

had been received with exultation in certain quarters. But he catalogued the achievements of the Congress, which should not leave any room for disappointment. He pointed out that it was due to the agitation carried on by the Congress that the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed, that the Welby Commission on Indian expenditure was appointed, that a motion for holding the I.C.S. examination simultaneously in England and India was passed in the House of Commons (though it was not given effect to), and the attention of the Government had been drawn towards the economic problems of the people and especially to the indebtedness of the peasantry. In his opinion "there is no purpose more important, no mission more sacred than the one that the Congress fulfils in the three short days to which it confines its sessions." This rhapsody appears to have been a reply to the charges levelled by Tilak in his editorial article in the *Kesari*, dated July 4, 1904, in course of which he wrote : "We will not achieve any success in our labours, if we croak once a year like a frog." He had exhorted upon his countrymen that the time had come to give new direction to the political movement since "there is today sufficient reason to change the White Man's old idea that the people of Asia will always remain slaves of foreigners." While Mehta and his associates were extremely self-complacent Tilak and his group found the Government absolutely apathetic to the demands of Indians. Tilak wrote in the *Kesari*, dated August 15, 1905 : "Government has no respect for the opinions expressed at meetings of lakhs of people.Our state of public opinion has become like waves beating against the mountain on the shore and blown back. Waves are far more effective than our public opinion because at least they are salty."

Reactionary Britishers like Theodore Morrison, however, considered the Moderates too as extravagant in their demands. Theodore Morrison contributed an article to the Aligarh Monthly in December, 1904 under the caption "The Debtor side of the Congress Account", in course of which he wrote: "Persistent criticism of the Congress has alienated the Government's sympathies, and that there is less chance of reforms being introduced in Government than before the establishment of Congress. Consequent on this the criticism will grow in bitterness and violence and the mass of people reading it will be driven to conclude that their miseries are due to Government.

Then they will take to questionable methods of trying to get their supposed wrongs righted, and the country may become a scene of violence and bloodshed.” •

The year 1905 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of political movement in India. After a period of twenty years a section of thoughtful Congressmen realised the futility of carrying on the agitation in the old way. An acute observer like Henry W. Nevinnson assessing the value of the Congress writes : “It served as a training ground for political knowledge. It afforded a centre for the growing unity of India, and without it the leaders of Indian reform could hardly have formulated their own programme. But in the two avowed objects it has failed ; it has had no influence upon the action of the Indian Government and no influence upon English opinion at home. For twenty-two years it was a model of order and constitutional propriety. It passed excellent resolutions, it demanded the redress of acknowledged grievances, in trustful loyalty it arranged deputations to the representatives of the Crown. By the Anglo-Indians its constitutional propriety was called cowardice, its resolutions remained unnoticed, its grievanoes unredressed, and the representative of the Crown refused to receive its deputation. In England, outside the half-dozen who take some interest in India, no one knew where the Congress met, what language it spoke, what were its demands, or what its object; no one knew, and no one cared.”⁹ There is some exaggeration in the last sentence no doubt, but even after admitting that, it is a sad commentary on all the efforts made and all the expenses incurred by the British Committee of the Congress, though year after year the Indian National Congress gratefully passed resolutions offering thanks to the Committee. It is no wonder that a section of the educated people became disillusioned and came to advocate self-help and organization of the masses in place of carrying memorials to the Government, either in India or in Great Britain. For the first time the policy of the Moderates was dubbed as ‘political mendicancy’ not by a fire-eating politician belonging to the Extremist group but by the sedate and highly cultured Maharaja Jagadindra Nath Roy of Natore, who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress session in Calcutta in 1901.¹⁰

The Extremists, who preferred to call themselves Nationalists

took up this cry of condemning the Congress policy of mendicancy. Homi Mody comments in his biography of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta : "The Deccan and Bengal were the two principal centres of the new gospel that was preached from the Press and platform by an ever increasing band of youthful and aggressive politicians under the inspiration of men like Messrs Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh, and that stormy petrel of Indian politics, Bal Gangadhar Tilak."¹¹ The eminent biographer has omitted here the name of Lala Lajpat Rai, who led the attack on the old policy of the Congress leaders at the Benares session in 1905. At that time he was forty, Pal was 47 and Tilak was 49. None of them could be described as youthful. Mody further states that apprehending trouble from them, Gokhale, who was to preside over the Benares session wired to Chimanlal Setalvad requesting him to induce Pherozeshah Mehta to attend the Congress. Mehta, however, did not attend. He had sensed a rising discontent against his authoritarian spirit in the Bombay Congress in 1904. Lala Murlidhar, a delegate from the Punjab complained in the Subjects Committee that Pherozeshah bore down all opposition and carried everything his own way. It was in this session that Gokhale was selected as the delegate to Great Britain to press forward the claims of India there. He performed this task so brilliantly that he was unanimously elected to the Presidentship of the Congress in 1905. At a public meeting held in Poona even Tilak moved a resolution felicitating Gokhale for the success of his mission in England.

The political horizon of India was, however, surcharged with ominous clouds and thunderstorm. The scheme of partitioning Bengal was announced on July 7, 1905 and on July 13 Krishna Kumar Mitra wrote an article in the *Sanjivani* asking the Bengalis to give up the use of foreign articles as far as practicable. This was the beginning of the boycott movement, which gathered great momentum in the next few months. The atmosphere in which the Benares Congress met on the 27th December, 1905 is thus described in the Report of the Congress : "Never since the dark days of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty had India been so distracted, discontented, despondent ; the victim of so many misfortunes, political and other, the target for so much scorn and calumny emanating from the highest quarters—its most moderate demand ridiculed and scouted, its most reasonable prayers greeted with a stiff negative, its noblest aspirations spurned and

denounced as pure mischief or solemn nonsense, its most cherished ideals hurled down from their pedestal and trodden under foot – never had the condition of India been more critical than it was during the second ill-starred administration of Lord Curzon. The Official Secrets Act was passed in the teeth of universal opposition. It was condemned by the whole Press—Indian and Anglo-Indian, protests from all quarters poured in, but Lord Curzon was implacable, and the Gagging Act was passed. Education was crippled and mutilated; it was made expensive and it was officialised; and so that most effective instrument for the enslavement of our National interest the Indian Universities Act, was passed.”¹² It is worth noting that this dark picture was drawn by a Moderate, and not by an Extremist.

The threatened storm broke out at the meeting of the Subjects Committee. There was an official draft resolution for extending a hearty welcome to the Prince of Wales, who later on became King George V. Lala Lajpat Rai opposed it and Tilak supported him. It was the first trial of strength between the two schools of thought in the Congress. On one side stood a few Bengalis, Punjabis and Mahrattas and on the other the rest of India representing the old and conservative section of the Congress including R. C. Dutt, Malaviya and Surendranath Banerjea. The resolution was carried in the Subjects Committee after a long and bitter discussion. But the Extremists declared that they would oppose it at the general meeting. Lala Lajpat Rai has written about the consequence of this most graphically thus : “This enraged the older leaders and the U. P. leaders were frightened. Information was sent the same night to the Commissioner, the Officer Commanding and the Police Superintendent of Benares. The next morning Munshi Madho Lal of Benares (Chairman of the Reception Committee) brought the Deputy Commissioner to the pandal. They had begun to fear that there might be some rioting, and were making preparations, accordingly. We were dubbed as sedition-mongers and ‘*badmashes*’. The whole of that night and the next morning this situation remained the topic of discussion. Threats were held out to us in the morning. Some said we were bringing the province into disgrace, others feared the Congress would be dead. So on and so forth. But our resolve remained unaffected. Now it was 11 o’clock. The time for the Congress sitting had arrived. But Gokhale did not turn up. The

news came that he was busy in confabulations. At last Gokhale arrived, but instead of going to the Congress pandal he began to persuade me. I told him our difference was one of principle. When he found me inexorable he made a personal appeal to me and asked me to waive opposition for his sake. To this I agreed and gave him a promise that we would abstain from attending the sitting whilst the resolution was being dealt with so that we might not have to oppose it; the understanding was that in the record it would not be said that the resolution was accepted unanimously.* I got Tilak to agree to this understanding. But the young Bengalis, J. N. Roy and R. Ray, would not agree in any case. So they had to be kept out by force. Thus was the Welcome resolution carried." It may be noted in this connection that the service Lala Lajpat Rai rendered was reciprocated by Gokhale, who moved the Viceroy to release the former from the Moulemain Jail in 1907.¹⁸

The Benares Congress extended its support to the Boycott movement in Bengal by passing Resolution No. XIII, which ran as follows: "That this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the Boycott of foreign goods as a last protest, and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal, in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people." This resolution was moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya himself and seconded in a forceful speech by Lala Lajpat Rai. But the Official Report of the Congress admits that "it was an open secret that there was some difference of opinion over the boycott resolution in the subjects Committee. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in the open session that he was not in favour of boycott."¹⁹(*) In course of his speech Lalaji said: "An Englishman hates or dislikes nothing like beggary. I think a beggar deserves to be hated. Therefore, it is our duty to show Englishmen that we have risen to the sense of

*Mrs. Annie Besant, however, records in her famous book "How India Wrought for Freedom": "The President moved from the Chair the first Resolution of welcome to T.R.H., the Prince and Princess of Wales, and it was enthusiastically carried." (p. 422).

consciousness, that we are no longer beggars and that we are subjects of an Empire where people are struggling to achieve that position which is their right by natural law." For the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress, Lala Lajpat Rai advocated the adoption of the method of passive resistance from the Congress platform. He said : "The method which is perfectly legitimate, perfectly constitutional and perfectly justifiable is the method of passive resistance."¹⁴(b) The effect of such utterances can best be described in the words of Lala Lajpat Rai himself : "This was the first speech of its kind delivered from the Congress platform, and in a way might be said to have laid the foundations of the nationalist wing. The speech evoked repeated applause and people punctuated it with cries of 'go on, go on'. The elderly leaders sitting on both sides of the President, particularly the Bombay delegates, began to tremble and turned pale with fear."¹⁵ After the day's sitting no less a person than Romesh Chandra Dutt congratulated Lajpat Rai for his courage.

The cleavage between the two wings of the Congress became wider still in 1906. More than six months before the meeting of the Congress in Calcutta Tilak wrote an article entitled, "The Direction of the work of the Congress" in which he pointed out the futility of the method of petitions and advocated the need for a shift in the policy of the Congress. He urged that this momentous question should be decided in the Calcutta Congress. He suggested that Lala Lajpat Rai should be elected President of that session so that a new lead might be given. He was conscious of the fact that such a suggestion might accentuate an open conflict in the Congress. He, therefore, commented : "Nobody desires to break the Congress. But the question is whether the Congress should be content by meeting once a year to raise its voice to say, 'we want these things', by sending a delegate to England for begging more".¹⁶ Khaparde supported Tilak's suggestion regarding the election of Lala Lajpat Rai as President. But Bipin Chandra Pal and men of his way of thinking were advocating that Tilak should become the President of the Congress. The Moderates found that they would lose their hold on the Congress organization if either Lajpat Rai or Tilak became President. Bhupendranath Bose, therefore, hastened to offer the Presidentship to Dadabhai Naoroji, who had twice adorned the Presidential Chair and who was held in the highest esteem by all



Some leaders at the Darbhanga House, Calcutta in 1906

Sitting : (Left to Right) B. Chakravarti, Ashutosh Chaudhury, Krishnaswami Aiyar, Maharaja of Darbhanga, Dadabhai Naoroji, Rashbehari Ghosh, and Surendranath Banerjee

Standing : Ratan Tata, G. K. Gokhale, D. E. Wacha, R C Dutt, B N Basu and S. P. Sinha.

sections. Though he was 81 years of age yet he accepted the offer. It is said that Bhupendranath Bose did not consult the Reception Committee before approaching Dadabhai Naoroji. But once Naoroji had accepted the post, there could be no re-opening of the question. Had not Dadabhai Naoroji accepted the Presidentship, the scenes of the Surat Congress would have been acted one year earlier.

The Nationalists had a camp of their own in Calcutta. Tilak, Khaparde and many other persons of their way of thinking arrived in Calcutta a few days before the commencement of the sitting of the Congress on the 26th December. Khaparde writes in his Diary on the 24th December that "a Khaparde conference was held of the delegates of our way of thinking."¹⁷ The Nationalists wanted to make boycott a weapon for the use of the whole of India but the Moderates were determined to keep it confined to Bengal only. Heated discussions took place in the Subjects Committee. The official Report of the Congress and Mrs. Besant's work on the subject are silent over the quarrels which took place in the Subjects Committee. We get a glimpse of the real state of affairs from the memoirs and biographies of persons taking a leading part in the Congress in 1906. The point of view of the Moderates is represented by Homi Mody who writes : "The Bengali contingent aided by a section from Nagpur and the Deccan wanted to justify the use of Boycott as a political weapon, and to extend its operation to other provinces. The Moderate wing under the leadership of Pherozeshah, fought tooth and nail to prevent the good work of the Congress from being discredited by a resolution which breathed a spirit of vengeance and defiance, and they succeeded in whittling it down to an approval of boycott as a measure of protest justified by the partition of Bengal. Stormy scenes marked the passage of the boycott resolution in the Subjects Committee. Pherozeshah and others were grossly insulted, and even the revered Dadabhai did not escape the shafts of Extremist invective. The wilder elements of the new party shouted and raved, and finally, headed by Bipin Chandra Pal and his lieutenant Khaparde, left the meeting in a body."¹⁸ Lala Lajpat Rai tried to bring about a compromise between the two groups in the Congress. He counselled moderation in the group meetings of the Extremists but he found that his "temperate counsels were altogether ignored by the Extremist Bengalis". He writes that

Pherozechah Mehta was openly attacked and so also were Gokhale and Malaviya. He further notes: "To me it appeared that the difference in the attitudes of the two groups was one of words only. So I moved an amendment, which though not accepted by the Extremist leaders was carried by a majority. Bipin Chandra Pal and his party walked out. The leader of the Moderates, Gokhale, was pleased with me and said that I had saved the situation. At this meeting too I had a small quarrel with the Bombayites. There is little doubt, that if Dadabhai Naoroji had not occupied the chair, and had I not intervened, all that happened at Surat next year would have happened at the Calcutta Congress."¹⁹

The Boycott resolution finally emerged from the Subjects Committee in the following form: "That having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the Partition of that Province, was, and is, legitimate." This was moved in the open session by Ambika Charan Mazumdar. In seconding it Bipin Chandra Pal said that the scope of the term 'boycott' extended much beyond the British goods and signified giving up all association with the Government and relinquishing all honorary offices, including membership of local bodies and legislature. Gokhale objected to such an interpretation and having read out the resolution again said: "Beyond this, if any of you want to go, go by all means, but do not go in the name of the Congress."²⁰ L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer supported the Boycott in Bengal but opposed its use in other Provinces. At this A. Choudhuri stood up and said that the Resolution was limited to Bengal. Pandit Malaviya opposed vigorously the interpretation put forward by Bipin Chandra Pal and observed that the other Provinces would never be driven to the necessity of using it. But Tilak did not agree to this view. He wrote on the 8th January, 1907: "If the Boycott resolution had not a general significance, would it not have been differently worded so as to remove its 'general' nature? There was scope for limiting it by putting the words 'for Bengal' after the word 'legitimate'. But as this was not done and as the resolution was adopted unanimously, none, not even the President or the Secretary of the Congress, had

now a right to interpret it according to the opinion of one section or the other.”²¹

There was considerable difference of opinion ‘regarding the resolution on the use of Swadeshi goods. Mehta was opposed to the encouragement of Swadeshi ‘at some sacrifice’ because it was equivalent to Boycott. When P. Ananda Charlu moved the resolution he appealed only to the well-to-do people to use Swadeshi goods. Tilak, however, explained in course of supporting it that the middle class people, who were the greatest users of foreign goods should take to the use of Swadeshi goods. He exhorted Indians to make a sacrifice of their petty interests and be self-reliant. The Moderates had to agree to the inclusion of the words “at some sacrifice.” It is interesting to note that while some of the Moderate leaders considered Swadeshi and Boycott as one and the same thing, Ramsay Macdonald wrote in 1910 : “Swadeshi is the policy of patronising as far as it is practicable, home products, and the Government itself has adopted it. It is followed, more or less consciously by every people. ‘Support home industries’ is a good advertisement for goods in whatever language it may be printed. It is simply an attempt to maintain a national industry, and is a recognition of the fact that everything else being equal, the home workman, the fellow citizen, has first claims upon the consumer The boycott, however, has a totally different significance. It is political in its origin, and it was meant to effect a wider and deeper issue than merely the consumption of goods.”²² But at the Surat session of the Bombay Provincial Conference held on 29th March 1907 the President, Sir Bhalchandra Bhatawadekar gave the ruling that the subject of Swadeshi did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Congress. The fact was that the Moderates intended to go back upon the decision of the Calcutta Congress. At the Surat Congress they wanted to expunge the words “even at some sacrifice” and make an appeal for simple preference for the indigenous over imported goods.

Sri Aurobindo did not appear on the Congress platform in 1906 but he was playing a leading role in the Nationalist group. He admits that his “idea was to capture the Congress and to make it an instrument for revolutionary action instead of a centre of a timid constitutional agitation which would only talk and pass resolutions

and recommendations to the foreign Government ; if the Congress could not be captured, then a central revolutionary body would have to be created which could do this work.”²³ A shrewd and sympathetic observer like Sir William Wedderburn could discern even from London that the Nationalists were bent upon capturing the Congress organization. He wrote to Gokhale on August 8, 1906 : “My own idea would be to let Messrs Tilak and Co. have a trial in the management and honours of the Congress, but instead of withdrawing, the more careful people should rally their forces, and exercise a beneficial control at the Congress meeting.”²⁴ But Pherozeshah Mehta and Wacha were most reluctant to allow any chance to Tilak and Lajpat Rai. They indirectly threatened to cut off their connection with the Congress if the Extremists secured the coveted offices in the Congress. That which could somehow be prevented in 1906 did actually happen at another session of the Congress held in Calcutta in 1907. Immediately after the Congress session in 1906 both the Nationalists and the Constitutionalists began to make preparations for the impending contest for power at the next Congress. For the first time in his life Sri Aurobindo came out in the open to assume the leadership of the Nationalists at the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Midnapore early in 1907. He was able to smash the resistance put forward by the Moderates. It is said that Surat was rehearsed on a small scale at Midnapore.

The fundamental difference between the two wings was that the Moderates still believed in the benevolence of the British Government, while the Nationalists were completely disillusioned. In his Calcutta lecture on 2nd January, 1907 Tilak openly declared : “We believed in the benevolent intentions of the Government, but in politics there is no benevolence. Benevolence is used to sugar-coat the declarations of self-interest, and we were in those days deceived by the apparent benevolent intentions under which rampant self-interest was concealed.” He made the point of difference clear by using a beautiful simile : “The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house and not merely one stranger turned out of it. Self-Government is our goal ; we want a control over our administrative machinery.”²⁵ In his famous articles on Passive Resistance, published in the *Bande Mataram* in April, 1907 Sri Aurobindo pointed out the difference between the old and the new parties in stronger language. Referring to the attitude of the

Moderates he wrote "From any idea of open struggle with the bureaucracy they shrank with terror and a sense of paralysis. Dominated by the idea of the overwhelming might of Britain and the abject weakness of India, their want of courage and faith in the nation, their rooted distrust of the national character, disbelief in Indian patriotism and blindness to the possibility of true political strength and virtue in the people precluded them from discovering the rough and narrow way to salvation. Herein lies the superiority of the new school that they have an indomitable courage and faith in the nation and the people." 18

The Calcutta Congress by its Resolution No. XVII decided to hold the next session of the Congress at Nagpur. Both the parties began to enlist members for the Reception Committee at Nagpur with great zeal and earnestness. It is said that the Moderates were able to recruit 800 while the Nationalists enrolled 1800 members. But even this numerical superiority did not ensure the Nationalists that they would be able to get Tilak elected to Presidentship, because according to the amended Constitution of the Congress three-fourths majority was required for the purpose. Seeing this state of affairs the Nationalists paid the subscription of 26 persons only and withheld the balance. The Moderates now proceeded to eject the Nationalist members from the Executive Committee which had already been formed. This was resented by the Nationalists, who are alleged to have assailed Chitnavis, the Chairman of the Reception Committee with abuse. Chaos and confusion broke out at the meeting of the Reception Committee held on 22nd September. On October 2, 1907 Gokhale wrote to Krishnaswami Iyer that the situation at Nagpur was "so grave that it is simply impossible to hold the next Congress there. A small minority of the Reception Committee is endeavouring to force its views as regards the selection of President and other matters on the vast majority of the Committee by means of organised ruffianism. And the men of the old school, who are elderly, respectable, peaceably inclined persons feel quite paralysed, as no work on their part is possible without a resort to police and this they are unwilling to call in." 19 The Moderates now decided to transfer the venue of the Congress from Nagpur to some other safer place. The decision of the Calcutta Congress was reversed at a meeting of the All India Congress Committee, held at the house

of Pherozeshah Mehta in Bombay. Surat, which has been described by Sri Aurobindo as the stronghold of Moderatism, was selected as the venue, despite the protests of Dr. Moonje and other citizens of Nagpur. The Surat Reception Committee following the lead of its counterpart at Nagpur elected Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh as the President of the forthcoming session. But the Nationalists first suggested the name of Lala Lajpat Rai and later on finding him unwilling to contest put forward Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal for Presidentship. There was hardly any chance of acceptance of this proposal because from all accounts it appears that the Nationalist delegates were numerically weaker than those belonging to the Moderate group. Sri Aurobindo estimates that the Moderate party was able to bring in a crowd of so-called delegates up to the number of 1300, while the Nationalists were able by the same method to muster something over 1100.²⁸ Nevins estimates the total number of delegates at 1600.²⁹ Homi Mody corroborates this, but he quotes R. N. Mudholkar to show that those whom the Extremists had brought from Berar included gymnastic teachers, proclaimed touts, workmen from factories, fitters, oilmen and even some barbers from Nagpur.³⁰ The jeer at the people belonging to the working class was characteristic of the snobbery of the high-browed Moderates. A historian states without quoting any authority that the total number of delegates was about 1200, of whom over 500 were Extremists.³¹ He further writes : "If the Extremists had brought some people armed with lathis, the Reception Committee too imported Bohra Muslim goondas in and around the Pandal and these, it may be added, were all armed with heavy sticks. The police also seems to have been long ready under requisition. Inflammatory leaflets in Gujarati asking the Gujarati people to teach a lesson to the leader from Maharashtra, Mr. Tilak were widely distributed in the city, and even inside the Pandal. The connivance of the Moderates was not unjustly suspected."³²

The Nationalists suspected that the Moderates would reverse the decision of the Calcutta Congress regarding Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education, and above all Swaraj as the Congress objective. There was some ground for the suspicion because the draft resolutions were not circulated till the last moment, though these were published in a Bombay paper on the 26th December. The Moderates pleaded



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Nationalist Leaders including Sri Aurobindo and Lokmanya Tilak at Surat

that the form of the Resolutions was to be decided by the Subjects Committee. Gokhale published a draft Constitution of the Congress, which reached Tilak on the 25th morning. The goal of the Congress was stated therein as "the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire." This was put in place of the Calcutta resolution, which said that "the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should be extended to India." The Nationalists held that the words "other members of the British Empire" in Gokhale's draft might mean Crown Colonies, Dependencies and anything. They overlooked the fact that the question of enjoyment of the right of self-government could not arise in a Crown Colony or Dependency. They further apprehended that this new objective had been substituted for the Calcutta resolution with a view to keeping them out of the Congress by making its acceptance a condition of Congress membership. Mutual suspicions and rumours made the atmosphere of the Surat Congress tense and bitter.

Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Ghosh, B. C. Chatterjee, Lala Harkishen Lal and various other persons tried hard to bring about an amicable settlement between the two parties. In the morning of the 28th December Tilak agreed to waive his opposition to the election of Mr. Rash Behari Ghosh as President of the Congress on two conditions. First, that the Calcutta resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education were adhered to and expressly reaffirmed and secondly, 'such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghosh's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalist Party are omitted.'⁸³ It was difficult to fulfil the second condition because his Presidential speech had already been published in advance in some Calcutta papers. In that speech there was a passage in which Ghosh refused to take the Nationalists seriously. The details of the disgraceful events culminating in the break-up of the Congress meeting at Surat have been described by us in another work.⁸⁴ We need not repeat them here. The effect of the Surat events was the driving away of the Nationalists from the Congress for a period of seven years—1908 to 1914. The Indian National Congress became an organ of the loyal Moderates, who were determined not to take any step which might cause any trouble to the British bureaucracy in India.

But the Congress definitely lost its popularity during these years as the number of delegates attending it reveals.

Year	Venue	Total No. of dele- gates	Delegates from different provinces						
			Bengal	Bihar	U P.	Punjab	Bombay	C.P. & Berar	Madras
1908	Madras	626	36	..	23	7	134	18	404
1909	Lahore	243	20	..	64	76	57	6	20
1910	Allahabad	636	85	39	209	27	80	24	121
1911	Calcutta	446	148	23	94	3	26	16	136
1912	Patna	207	35	58	67	4	10	14	19
1913	Karachi	349	22	4	13	10	264	..	33
1914	Madras	866	38	5	12	..	54	7	748

It will be seen that very few people cared to attend the Congress from the provinces outside the place in which the Congress met. Thus in 1908 only 222 came from outside Madras, in 1909 the number dwindled to 167, next year it rose to 427 but in 1911 it fell to 298 and reached the low figure of 149 at Patna. In 1913 the number of delegates from provinces other than Bombay was only 85, the lowest in the history of the Congress since 1886. In 1914 it rose to 118 though as many as 748 delegates from Madras attended the Madras session. It is worth noting that while the number of delegates from Bengal fell to a negligible figure during these seven years, the Moderate Congress retained its hold on the constitutionally minded Madrasis. The Bengali youths were attracted by the creed of violence and cared little for the timid constitutional ways of the Congress.

Pherozezshah Mehta was opposed to carrying on any negotiations with the Nationalists. He derided the passionate appeals for unity in the Congress as mawkish sentimentality. He held that 'each consistent body of views and principles have its own congress in an honest and straightforward way.'⁵⁵ This view seems to have been echoed by Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh who said in his Presidential address at the Madras Congress, 1908 : "Those who have gone out of us were never of us for if they had been of us they would no doubt have continued with us. Our paths now lie wide apart, and a yawning gulf separates us."⁵⁶ Lala Lajpat Rai, who had made sincere effort at Surat for achieving unity was pained to find that the Moderate leaders were

bent on keeping out the Nationalists. Following the lead of Sri Aurobindo in the *Bande Mataram* of April 23, 1908 Lala Lajpat Rai questioned the right of the Moderates to sail under the name of the Indian National Congress and the authority of the Convention to make a Constitution for the Congress. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh tried to answer the charge with great ingenuity. From the Presidential chair he observed : "We have been charged with having imposed a new Constitution without a mandate from the Congress, but I can hardly believe that our accusers are serious. In the first place, I would remind them that there is no question whatever of compulsion or of a brand new Constitution. The Constitution is not brand new nor is anybody compelled to accept it. In the next place, is it not the idlest pedantry to say that the convention which were driven to summon at Surat when the regular machinery had broken down—a Convention at which over eight hundred delegates were present—had no authority at all to act in the unforeseen emergency which had arisen ? If we were always obliged to move only in the beaten path, we could not move at all." ⁸⁷ The arguments used by the great lawyer are weak and unconvincing. The creed which they framed could not be acceptable to Nationalists. Dr. Ghosh admits in the sentence quoted above that the Moderates took unprecedented steps to formulate a Constitution.

The Nationalist Party became considerably weakened on account of the arrest of Sri Aurobindo, long term of imprisonment of Lokmanya Tilak, the departure of Bipin Chandra Pal for England and the indifference of Lala Lajpat Rai. Sri Aurobindo wrote in 'An Open Letter to my Countrymen' on the 31st July, 1909: "The situation of the Nationalist Party is difficult but not impossible. The idea of some that the party is extinct because its leaders are sentenced or deported, is an error which comes of looking only at the surface. The party is there, not less powerful and pervading than before, but in want of a policy and a leader." ⁸⁸ He reiterated here again : "Our ideal is that of Swaraj or absolute autonomy free from foreign control.....We find a bureaucratic administration, we wish to make it democratic; we find an alien government, we wish to make it indigenous; we find a foreign control, we wish to render it Indian." This may be contrasted with the statement made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who said in his Presidential address

at the Lahore Congress : "The foundation of the Congress rests on loyalty to the British Government. That has always been the basic principle of the Congress. The Congress has at no time done or sanctioned anything being done which would give the smallest countenance to any idea that it wanted to overthrow the British Government. I believe that the vast bulk of the thoughtful people in India, I mean, of course, those who can and do understand such questions, are as much convinced today as they were when the Congress was started, that British rule is good for India, and that it is to our advantage that it should continue for a long time to come.""

Pandit Malaviya was called upon to preside over the Lahore Congress at a very short notice. The Reception Committee at Lahore had originally elected Pherozeshah Mehta to preside because troubles were apprehended from the Nationalists and it was considered safe to have an exceptionally strong President. But just a fortnight before the date of the Congress the President-elect sent a telegram to Lala Harkishen Lal, Chairman of the Reception Committee regretting his inability to preside. The Bombay correspondent of *The Capital* wrote that the Extremists would have turned the Congress at Lahore into a pandemonium if Pherozeshah had pronounced *ex-cathedra* the views he had expressed in his famous letter regarding unity in the rank of the Congress. Even Homi Mody, whose admiration for Pherozeshah was unbounded condemns this sudden step as unwise and unfortunate. One of the contemporary journalists wrote : "the pilot whom the country had trusted as the fittest man to steer the barge to haven when gathering clouds betokened a tempest, suddenly abandoned his post, and left the ship to drift as it might over the troubled waters." He even left India in April 1910 and stayed away till February 1911.

Gokhale and Malaviya were in favour of amending the Congress Constitution in such a way that the Nationalists might come back to the Congress honourably. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1911 they proposed that the right of electing delegates should be restored to public meetings. But Pherozeshah Mehta and his associates were against this sort of compromise. Mrs. Annie Besant made an earnest attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the two parties soon after the release of Tilak from prison in June 1914. In December 1914 Mrs. Besant and Mr. Subba Rao, the General Secretary of

the Madras Congress went to Poona to meet Tilak and Gokhale. Tilak plainly told Gokhale: "The Congress belongs to all. It is not given as a gift to any party. I shall first prepare the country, enter the Congress and capture it." ⁴⁰ Gokhale clarifies the position further in the letter he wrote to Bhupendranath Basu, the President-elect on December 14, 1914: "My hope was that if we enabled the seceders by such relaxations to come in, they would, having seen the impossibility of political action on any other lines, co-operate with us in furthering the programme of the Congress by present methods. That hope, however, has now been shattered. Mr. Tilak has told Mr. Subba Rao frankly and in unequivocal terms that though he accepts the position laid down in what is known as the Congress creed, viz., that the aim of the Congress is the attainment by India of self-government within the Empire by constitutional means, he does not believe in the present methods of the Congress, which rest on association with Government where possible, and opposition to it where necessary. In place of these he wants to substitute the method of opposition to Government pure and simple within constitutional limits—in other words a policy of Irish obstruction."

Dr. Annie Besant was not deterred by the apparent failure of the talks at Poona. She moved an amendment to the Congress Constitution in the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Madras in 1914. She was told that Tilak was in favour of boycott of Government and so there was no use in making any gesture for *rapprochement*. The debate was adjourned and she wired Tilak to ascertain his views. Tilak replied by wire: "I have never advocated boycott of Government. Prominent Nationalists have served and are serving in Municipalities and Legislative Councils, and I have fully accepted their action both privately and publicly."

Pherozechah Mehta asked his trusted lieutenants to invite the Congress to Bombay for the next session, so that he might have the fullest opportunity of shutting the door of the Congress effectively against the Nationalists.⁴¹ The death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in February and of Pherozechah Mehta in November 1915 facilitated the amendment of the Constitution. As Homi Mody puts: "The Nationalists walked in. Their triumph was speedy and complete. When the next split took place, it was the Moderates who had to walk out,"

Lokmanya Tilak was elected a Delegate for the Lucknow Congress, 1916, from the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. So many of his followers became Delegates that a special train, nicknamed the Home Rule Special, was arranged for. The Lucknow Congress was dominated by the personality of Tilak. Ambika Charan Mazumdar said in his Presidential Address : "I most cordially welcome Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. Motilal Ghosh and other brave comrades, who separated from us at Surat and have been happily restored to us at Lucknow. I rejoice to find that they are after all 'of us' and 'with us' and let us hope never to part again." The part played by Tilak in formulating the Congress-League Pact was most important. No less a person than Mr. Jinnah writes : "Mr. Tilak rendered yeoman's services to the country and played a very important part in bringing about the Hindu-Muslim unity which ultimately resulted in the Lucknow Pact of 1916." In moving the resolution on self-government Tilak expressed his happiness over the reunion of the Nationalists and the Constitutionalists on the one hand and the Hindus and Moslems on the other. "I am glad to say", observed Tilak, "that I have lived these ten years to see that we are reunited in this Congress, and we are going to put our voices and shoulders together to push on this scheme of self-government, and not only have we lived to see these differences closed but to see the differences of Hindus and Mohammedans closed as well. So we have now united in every way in the United Provinces and we have found luck in Lucknow."

The Nationalists scored a positive victory when they succeeded in getting Mrs. Annie Besant elected to the Presidentship of the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1917. This session attracted as many as 4967 delegates of whom 1223 represented Bengal, 449 Assam, 439 Bihar and Orissa, 118 Berar, 938 Bombay, 44 Burma, 188 C. P., 445 Madras, 123 Punjab and 760 U. P. The proceedings began indeed with the usual expression of loyalty to the Throne and determination to help the Empire but it demanded that a time-limit be fixed in the Government of India Act itself for setting up responsible Government in India. The motion was moved by Surendranath Bannerjee, seconded by M. A. Jinnah and supported by Bipin Chandra Pal and Lokmanya Tilak. Pal said that the underlying principle and idea of the Lucknow scheme "was to oppose and to obstruct the Government, to make the Government impossible by and

by, if we could manage to do so." Pandit Malaviya intervening said: "No, no". Tilak began his speech with a modest declaration of his own limitations, saying: "I have not got the eloquence of my friend, Babu Surendranath Banerjea, nor the acumen of Mr. Jinnah. neither have I the trumpet voice of my friend Babu Bipin Chandra Pal." With astounding bluntness he declared: "Our opponents talk of reforming the Provincial Government. But in my opinion this is perfect nonsense. We must first have a good share of the power in the Central Government."⁴²

A section of the audience requested Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to speak in Hindi. But he refused to comply with their request and explained: "Much as I should like to address you in my own language, I feel it would not be right to disregard the request that comes from a large number of those who come from Provinces where, unfortunately, to our regret, the Hindi or the Urdu language has not been sufficiently cultivated. I hope that during the years to come our friends in Madras as well as in other parts of the country where Hindi is not sufficiently known, will find time to study a language, which is understood in India by nearly three-fourths of the masses of the people". Mahatma Gandhi, however, delivered a speech in Hindi in moving the Resolution on Indians in Colonies. This speech, however, has not been reported in the official Report of Congress. This single fact indicates that the age of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian politics had not yet dawned.

The year 1917 is memorable in the history of the Congress for other reasons too. For the first time a representative of the Depressed Classes, Bhegai Halder appeared on the Congress platform. A Resolution was also moved on the urgency of raising the status of the Depressed Classes. It was moved by G. A. Natesan, seconded by B. J. Desai and supported by Rama Iyer and M. Asaf Ali. The sign of the awakening of women of India was also visible in the resolution moved by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who demanded the right of franchise for women. But the leaders of the Congress considered it premature and persuaded her to withdraw it.⁴³ The Congress had so long tried to enlist the support of the Liberal Party; but could not gain any substantial measure of reform from them. Now for the first time the Congress looked up for the support of the Labour Party. From the Chair Mrs. Annie Besant moved that "The Congress requests Joseph

Baptista and H. S. L. Polak, both now in England to convey to the Labour Party cordial welcome of their proffered help in obtaining the passage through Parliament* of a statute embodying the grant of responsible Government in India." Thirty years later India became independent through the help and good wishes of the Labour Party.

While all these important events were going on, the old vanguards of the Congress were contemplating withdrawal from the organization they had founded and nourished during the last thirty-two years. Prithwis Chandra Ray, a prominent stalwart of the Moderate Party circulated a letter from Calcutta on November 10, 1917 to prominent Congressmen on his way of thinking. He urged in it that since 1915 the Congress and all its machinery had "practically been captured by the Extremist party. The Congress has no separate existence and only flourishes as an appendage of the Home Rule League." In course of this he wrote: "In co-operation with some very influential friends, I am making a serious effort to find out if there is, in any quarter any particular desire to establish a Moderate organization and, if so, on what lines it should be founded. It is proposed to hold an informal conference of the leading Moderate politicians of All-India stature during the next Christmas holiday to discuss the advisability of such an organization and to take such steps as may be necessary in consequence of its decision." In 1918 the Moderates seceded from the Congress and formed the Liberal Party. While the new School refused to accept the scheme of reforms outlined in the Joint Report of Montague and Chelmsford, the old Party welcomed it. The special session of the Congress, held in Bombay under the Presidentship of Hasan Imam condemned the scheme of reform as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing". The Moderates refused to associate themselves with the condemnation of the scheme. They knew that there was very little chance of their securing a majority in favour of their views. They, therefore, considered it prudent to stay away from the special session of the Congress. Instead, they met at a conference in Bombay in November, 1918 under the Presidentship of Surendranath Banerjea. It was attended by a large number of ex-Presidents of the Congress, who now held, in the words of C. Y. Chintamani, "that the country was bigger than the Congress, the Congress was a means to an end whereas the country was the end itself.""

The Moderate leaders promoted the interests of the country by accepting the posts of Ministers and Executive Councillors, while the leaders of the opposite camp preferred to serve the cause of the Congress by going to jail. In every age and in every country the sympathy of the people goes to those who undergo sufferings rather than enjoy a life of ease and comfort. But it would be rank ingratitude to forget the services rendered by the Moderate leaders in shaping public opinion in India and in preparing the country for the struggle for freedom.

CHAPTER V

THE CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEMS

There is a belief prevalent even amongst scholars that the Indian Moslems as a body kept themselves aloof from the Indian National Congress during the first three decades of its existence. It is further held that they did so at the advice of Sir Syed Ahmed whose influence was paramount during his lifetime and became much greater after his death. Thus Prof. Hafeez Malik in his research work recently published by the Public Affairs Press, Washington and accepted as an official publication of the American Congress, writes : "Men like Rahamatullah M. Sayani and the Hon'ble Mr. Badrud-Din Tyabji, who were conspicuous in the early Congresses as the solitary examples of Moslem Collaboration with the All-India Congress failed to persuade their co-religionists."¹ Rev. C. F. Andrews and Prof. Girija Mukherjee have stated that "the decision of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan to oppose the Congress and his advice to hold aloof from it received after his death in 1898 almost a religious sanction." They further added that in the north of India his counsel prevailed and his verdict was quoted as sacrosanct for "a whole generation."² The object of this paper is to examine the validity of such statements.

At the very outset it may be stated that a close analysis of the list of delegates appended to the Official Report of the Congress each year does not bear out any one of the two observations quoted above. Syed Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906) was not a solitary Moslem at the Madras session of the Congress in 1887. The Introduction to the Report states that as many as 83 Moslems were present. We could find, however, only 79 names of Moslem delegates in the official List of Delegates. Of these 58 came from the various districts of the Madras Presidency, 3 from Deccan, 1 from Bombay city, 4 from Belgaum, 1 each from Bijapur, Dharwar, Nagpore, Indore, Lahore, Agra, Azamgarh, Lucknow and Hooghly, and 2 each from Partabgarh and Aligarh, the centre of activities of Sir Syed Ahmad. Mahomed Shafi wrote in course of a letter published in the *Pioneer* a few days after the Madras Congress that the majority of the Moslem delegates who attended the last Congress "were of that type who, being them-

selves in a lower status in society were always ambitious of moving in the higher orbit.”³ But one of the two persons who went from Aligarh was Syed Md. Maki, Zamindar, and the other was Haffz Md. Abdul Rahim, a pleader. The *Pioneer* itself admitted that in the Madras Congress the North West Province was represented by 44 Hindu and Moslem gentlemen including 8 Journalists, 17 Pleaders, 2 Barristers, 3 Education Officers, 5 Zamindars, 4 men of business and 5 miscellaneous persons. The *Pioneer*, of course, refused to call them representatives because over a half of them were pleaders and editors, and a quarter of them Bengalees, settled in the N. W. Provinces. The latter were, in the opinion of the *Pioneer*, : “strangers, repudiated equally by Mahomedans and Hindus.”⁴ Theodore Beck (1859-1899), whom Sir Syed Ahmed appointed in 1883 as Principal of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh when he was 24 years of age, clarified in what sense the Congress could not be called a representative body. He wrote to the *Pioneer* on the 2nd November, 1885 : “No assembly like the National Congress could be regarded as representative, while 90% of the whole population of India consisted of peasantry absolutely ignorant of politics.” It could have been contended by the Beck-*Pioneer* school of thought that as out of 79 Moslem delegates as many as 52 were from Madras, they did not represent the Moslems of the whole of India. But they did not raise this point because it was usual and natural for the Province in which the Congress met to contribute the majority of delegates.

Rahmatullah M. Sayani presided over the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1896, though according to the painstaking researches of Prof. Hafeez Malik conducted in the U. S. A. it was in 1894.⁵ Sayani was not the solitary Moslem gentleman present in the Calcutta session. He was accompanied by 53 other Moslem delegates coming from different parts of the country.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan began his campaign against the Congress even before the meeting of the second session in Calcutta in December, 1886. The Congress in its very first session had passed resolutions demanding the reconstitution of the Legislative Council on representative basis to a certain extent. Sir Syed opposed this idea vehemently in an article published in the Aligarh Institute Gazette which was quoted in the *Statesman* dated the 23rd November, 1886. He asked: “Is the state of the country adapted to popular government ?” and

“How will the mixture of nationalities in India affect the working of (Indian) Parliaments ?” He had already emphasised the difference of religions and social customs of the Hindus and Mahomedans in his speech in the Supreme Legislative Council on the C. P. Local Self-Government Bill in 1883. He said on that occasion : “The system of representation by election means representation of view and interests of the majority of the population, and in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and the district councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations.”

He elaborated these ideas in the paper contributed to the Allyn Institute Gazette and deliberately used the term ‘Nationalities’ to denote the different communities residing in India. Here he held out the threat of physical violence, in place of veiled language used in the Supreme Legislative Council. His exact words were as follows :—“In India two sections of the people are ready to hand, and two sections whose interests and prejudices constantly clash, and which differ in a far more radical way than any two parties in England, and there seems no reason to doubt that the two parties would correspond with these fundamental divisions. We find a tendency towards this already in municipalities. And if at any future time there should be a parliament with Hindus and Mahomedans sitting on the two sides of the house, it is probable that the animosity which would ensue would far exceed anything that can be witnessed in England. For the safeguard of the English system is that the party in power is always in dread of being left in a minority by the defection of some of adherents, but this safeguard would not exist in India because a Hindu would not turn Mahomedan and vice versa. Moreover the Mahomedans would be in permanent minority and their case would resemble that of the unfortunate Irish members in the English Parliament, who have always been outvoted by the Englishmen. The majority in Parliament has absolute control and a study

of the habit of assemblies point to the conclusion that bodies of men are less generous in regarding opponent than individual rulers are. If this were so, and one side were 'perpetually outvoted, there is only too much fear that the minority would ultimately take the matter into their own hands and see if they could gain by force what they were unable to obtain by constitutional means.'" Hume gave a crushing reply to these contentions and wrote: "Let me say, to begin with, that the majority of Hindus and Mahomedans are practically of the same nationality and not of different ones. Their religious creed is different and their prejudices may at times clash, but as for their essential interests, these are absolutely identical, for all are equally interested in an efficient protection to life and property, moderate taxation, a just land revenue system, and generally a wise administration of the country in all respects. Nothing is more absolutely false than that the public interest of Hindus and Mahomedans are in any way divergent."

Sir Syed Ahmed's propaganda must have influenced the Central National Mahomedans Association and the Mahomedan Literary Society to publish the letters interdicting the Congress on the eve of the Calcutta session. The *Statesman* commented: "The Mahomedan community at Madras have sent delegates to the Congress, and so have the Mahomedans of Bombay, the North Western Provinces, Oudh and the chief towns and cities of Bengal and before taking so serious a step as that which Mr. Amir Ali and the Nawabs have taken, they will themselves admit we think that they ought to have ascertained beyond doubt, that the community which they are supposed to represent, desired them to take such action." Nawab Raza Ali Khan of Lucknow said in course of seconding the motion for the election of Dadabhai Naoroji as President of the Calcutta session, 1886: "The Association that has done us the honour of deputing us is largely composed of leading Mohammedans, Nawabs and Wasekadars, Political pensioners, and scions of the once Royal House of Oudh and I assure you that our Association and my brother Mahommedans generally of Oudh, will utterly repudiate and condemn any unworthy attempt to create dissensions in our ranks, by unfounded statements as to our supposed want of sympathy with the present movement. Hindus or Mahommedans, Parsees or Sikhs, we are one people now, whatever our ancestors six or eight hundred

years ago may have been and our public interests indivisible and identical. Gentlemen, I pray you disregard any such slanders ; we Mahommedans (at least such of us as can think at all), think just as all thinking Hindus do on these public questions, and believe me when I say that you will ever find us side by side with you in every legal constitutional endeavour to raise the political status of the people of our common home and country.”

Throughout the year 1887 the Aligarh group carried on propaganda against the Congress. Syed Amir Ali again asked his co-religionists to desist from joining the Congress. Badruddin Tyabji who presided over the Congress session at Madras in 1887 was also approached. But he wrote on the 13th January, 1888 to Syed Amir Ali and Syed Ahmed Khan : “I have not been able thoroughly to understand the grounds on which this abstention is sought to be justified but it does seem to me to be a great pity that on matters affecting all India as a whole, any section of the Mussalman community should keep aloof from the Hindus and thus retard the national progress as a whole. I understand your humble objection to be that the Hindus being more advanced than ourselves would profit more by any concessions made by Government to educated natives but surely it is our duty if possible to raise ourselves in the scale of progress, rather than to prevent other people from enjoying the rights for which they are qualified.”¹⁰ In reply to this letter, Syed Ahmed Khan wrote to Badruddin Tyabji on January 24, 1888 : “I do not understand what the words ‘National Congress’ mean. Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, or can become a nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same ? I think it is quite impossible and when it is impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples. You regard the doings of the misnamed National Congress as beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large. I object to every Congress in any shape or form whatsoever—which regard India as one Nation on account of its being based on wrong principle, namely that it regards the whole of India as one Nation.”¹¹

It is interesting to note that Badruddin Tyabji also held that India was not one Nation. He wrote in reply to Sir Syed Ahmed : “Your objection to the Congress is that ‘it regards India as one

Nation'. Now I am not aware of any one regarding the whole of India' as one Nation and if you read my inaugural address, you will find it distinctly stated that there are numerous communities or nations in India which had peculiar problems of their own to solve." He equated here nation with community. In his Presidential speech he had spoken of different communities but not of different nations. But such confusion of ideas ultimately led to the partitioning of India.

Badruddin Tyabji was much influenced by the arguments of Sir Syed Ahmed. He deplored the decision of his community in this matter and wrote to Hume on October 27, 1888 : "An overwhelming majority of Mohammedans is against the movement. Against this array it is useless saying that the intelligent and educated Mohammedans are in favour of the Congress. If then, the Mussalman community as a whole, is against the Congress—rightly or wrongly does not matter—it follows that the movement *ipso facto* ceases to be a general or National Congress." He, therefore, proposed that after the Allahabad session the Congress should be "prorogued, say at least for five years. This would give us the opportunity of reconsidering the whole position and if necessary of retiring with dignity and would at the same time give us ample time to carry into execution our programme, which has already become very extensive. If at the end of five years our prospects improve we can renew Congress." This was practically a proposal to bury the Congress before it attained the fifth year of its existence.

But Hume refused to admit that a large number of Mohammedans was hostile to the Congress. In his reply dated the 5th November, 1888 he wrote to Tyabji that "all through Oudh and N. W. Province we have more than ten Mohammedans to one that is against us. In the Punjab we are sweeping Syed Ahmed away.....In both Bihar and Eastern Bengal we have an overwhelming majority. In Madras etc. the same."¹³ The suggestion of Badruddin Tyabji, however, was taken up seriously. In 1891 the Congress at Nagpur appointed a Sub-Committee to consider whether annual session of the Congress was to be discontinued. This proposal was not acceptable to the majority of delegates. Thus the Congress was saved from premature death.

The most vigorous effort to dissuade the Mohammedans from joining the Congress was made for one year from October 1887. Sir

Syed Ahmed delivered lectures at important centres of Muslim culture like Lucknow and Meerut. In all his lectures he opposed the Congress demand for representative legislature and recruitment to services by open competition. He reminded the Muslims that by their superior numerical strength the Hindus would get four representatives to one Muslim, and on account of their superior education they would monopolise all posts. It was, therefore, best for the Muslims to keep themselves away from the Congress movement. In his Meerut speech delivered on March 14, 1888 he told his audience that it was necessary "for the peace of India and for the progress of everything in India that the English should remain for many years—in fact for ever—when it has been settled that the English Government is necessary, then it is useful for India that its rules should be established on the firmest possible basis. And it is desirable for Government that for its stability it should maintain an army of such a size as it may think expedient, with a proper equipment of officers; and that it should in every district appoint officials in whom it can place complete confidence, in order that if a conspiracy arise in any place they may apply the remedy. I ask you, is it the duty of Government or not to appoint European officers in its empire to stop conspiracies and rebellions?"¹⁸ Sir Syed Ahmed thus envisaged perpetuation of British rule in India. According to him, it was against the true interest of India to ask for a reduction of military expenditure or even the appointment of a few Indians as District Magistrates. No Mussalman had up to that time passed the I. C. S. examination and from his own point of view he was perfectly justified in claiming that the European Magistrates were far better than the Indian ones. But Surendranath Bannerjea who was touring East Bengal to enlist support for the Congress said in his speech at Dacca on the 1st October, 1888 that Tyabji's son stood first at the I. C. S. examination and that the Moslems had nothing to lose, nothing to fear from Congress. Other stalwarts of the Congress were also touring the different parts of the country with a view to counteracting the anti-Congress propaganda. Swami Shraddhananda who was a pleader at Jalandhar in 1888 relates how a meeting was held in his town under the presidentship of Khan Bahadur Fazal-i-Karim Khan, Vice-President of the Municipality on the 24th May and a

resolution was passed expressing sympathy for the Congress. But later on a young Moslem pleader began the anti-Congress propaganda and he was able to win over the majority of the Moslem supporters of the Congress. A few strong-minded persons like Khwaja Shah Muhammad, pleader and Pirdal Khan Saheb, Mokhtar remained steadfast in their loyalty to the Congress. Swami Shraddhananda also informs that the Congress authorities induced Ali Mahommed Bhimji to undertake a propaganda tour throughout the Punjab but he was not able to achieve much success.¹⁴

Both the protagonists and the opponents of the Congress indulged in hectic feverish activities. The Congress session at Allahabad in the last week of December, 1888 was to be a trial of strength between them. The infant Congress organisation was making frantic efforts to maintain its very existence.

In Patna a scholarly person like Khan Bahadur Khuda Baksh, the founder of the great Oriental Library at Bankipur, moved at a meeting of the Anjuman-i-Islamia on September 9, 1888 a resolution to the effect that the "objects of the so-called National Congress would, if carried out, vitally injure Mohamedan interests and the Mohamedan religion." At a meeting of the British Indian Association of the Oudh Talukdars held on November 22, 1888, it was decided to form a new Anti-Congress Association, named the Indian Loyal Association. It was resolved in that meeting that if a Hindu or Moslem of the North-West Provinces and Oudh attended the Congress he should not be considered a delegate from these Provinces.¹⁵

In spite of such efforts the total number of delegates attending the Congress session at Allahabad in 1888 was 1248, of whom 583 claimed to represent the people of the North West Provinces and Oudh. Had Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's influence been preponderant, as many as 222 Moslem delegates would not have attended the Congress. Though 152 or more than two-third of them were residents of the Province in which the Congress was sitting, yet Moslem gentlemen from all parts of India came enthusiastically to join the Congress. Thus 5 came from Madras, 2 from Poona, 2 from Satara, 1 from Dhulia, 1 each from Khandesh and Sholapur, 8 from Belgaum, 2 from Dharwar, 1 each from Bijapur, Bombay and Ratnagiri, 2 from Gujrat, 1 each from Berar, Hoshiarpur, Gujranwala, 6 from Ludhiana,

1 from Dera Ismail Khan, 6 from Delhi, 35 from Behar, 3 from Bengal and 1 from Orissa. Amongst the districts in the North West Provinces, Lucknow was represented by 51 Moslem gentlemen; Fyzabad by 2, Bara Banki by 1, Kheri by 4, Partabgarh by 2, Rae Bareli by 1, Moradabad by 2, Allahabad by 41, Agra City by 2, Cawnpur by 12, Shaharanpur by 1, Meerut by 2, Kanauj by 2, Aligarh by 5, Banda and Almora by 1 each, Varanasi by 20, Ghazipur by 3, Azamgarh by 3, Basti and Mirzapur by 1 each. George Yule, the President of the session said that 17 Nawabs were present at the Allahabad Congress.

Moulavi Mohammed Hidayat Rasul, Rais, Lucknow said in course of his speech in the Congress that the 'Anjuman-i-Islam' of Lucknow which had more than 400 members on its rolls had deputed "thirty distinguished delegates, including three Princes Royal, grandsons of the late lamented Mohammed Ali Shah III of Oudh, Sheikh Raza Husain Khan, Saheb Taluqdar, Mr. Ali Mohammad Bhimji and others to take part in the proceedings of the Congress—and no less than seventy Mohammedan delegates represent at this meeting our own Province of Oudh. Now can you say how so many able and distinguished delegates have come to be returned from Oudh and specially from Lucknow? Gentlemen, I will whisper it in your ears. The truth of it is, that all this good result is due to the kindness of our brethren in the Aligarh camp—the opponent of the Congress. I assure you that if our hostile brethren had not made such a grand show of opposition the Congress would certainly not have been the success that it has been today. To my mind the National Congress is like the vine, which, the more it is pruned, the more it flourishes. There is no doubt that our kind opponents have spared no pains to prune it out of existence; but still the numerous branches which delight the eyes of spectators in the vast hall today are, to no small extent, the outcome of their persistent pruning."¹⁶

Syed Shurf-ud-din who later on rose to be a High Court Judge and Executive Councillor in Patna, said in course of a speech in the Allahabad Congress in 1888: "In 1885 when the first meeting of the Congress was held at Bombay, it was said by adverse critics that it was a Congress of a few educated native gentlemen. Again you will remember that when the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886, it was no longer called a Congress of a few native gentlemen, but a Congress

of Bengalees; and in 1887, when the Congress was held in Madras it was not called a Congress of Native gentlemen or of the Bengalees, but a Congress of Hindus. (Laughter and cheers). Now, gentlemen, here in 1888, we have got before us not only Hindus, Bengalees and Mahrattas, but I am proud to say we have here amongst us today more than 200 Mahommedans, including scions of the ex-Royal families of Delhi and of Oudh (Loud cheers).....I may tell you that in 1886 when the Congress was held in Calcutta, owing to some local or temporary reasons, the Mahommedans were charged with holding aloof, but I can assure you that, at least in my province of Bihar, the Mahommedans have the fullest sympathy with the objects of the Congress."¹⁶ (•)

Doubts assailed the minds of even the orthodox religious leaders of the Moslem community with regard to the total abstention from political movements as advised by Sir Syed Ahmed. About the year 1889 Maulana Rashid Ahmed of Gangoh, Head of the Deoband School said : "Syed Ahmed may or may not be the real well-wisher of Islam, but an association with him, in the long run, would be poisonous to (the life of) Moslems and Islam. He administers sweet poison that is fatal. Therefore, do not join him. You may join with the Hindus." But this verdict was modified by certain qualifications which were laid down in the manner of the Delphic Oracle. "If, however," the Maulana added, "an association with the Hindus might lead to the commission of an act contrary to the Shariat or if it might cause degradation or humiliation of the Moslems, or if it might even assist the progress of the Hindus then it is expressly forbidden."¹⁷

In spite of such a dictum from a high religious authority the number of Moslem delegates increased from 222 to 254 in the Bombay session of the Congress in 1889. At this session, one Moslem delegate from Lucknow (a friend of Sir Syed Ahmed) while speaking on the second Resolution relating to the Reform of Legislative Council demanded that the number of Moslem representatives to the Legislative Council should be equal to that of the Hindus. Another Moslem gentleman hailing from Moradabad went so far as to demand that there should be three Mohammedans for every Hindu. Hamid Ali, the renowned Barrister-at-Law from Lucknow said in reply to these : "Permit me to say that we are all endeavouring to create a United India and to form ourselves into one nation, so far, at least,

as the political rights and wants are concerned." He further stated that if the Moslems demand parity with the Hindus who were 15 crores* to the 5 crores of Moslems, the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, Eurasians and the Europeans also would claim to have as many members as the Moslems or Hindus. He, therefore, urged : "We must adopt some standard as a basis for a scheme of representation, and, on the whole, that of population is the fairest for all and certainly the most favourable to us. If, instead of population, property or education were selected as the basis, we should be far worse off—but one of these three must be adopted and adhered to, or the absurd result I have just indicated to you is arrived at." He tried to convince the Moslems that the interests of the Hindus and the Mohammedans were absolutely one and undivided. Even if it had not been the case, how could the Hindus injure the interest of the Moslems ? He pointed out: "Are there not to be European and Eurasian members amongst those elected besides Sikhs and Parsees in some Provinces ? Are not one-fourth of the members to be officials who are ex-officio, and one-fourth to be nominees of Government amongst whom probably there would be some Mohammedans ?" Here we find an array of almost irrefutable arguments, but the Aligarh group turned a deaf ear to all these.

In the Calcutta session of the Congress held in 1890, Munshi Sadruddin Ahmed, Zamindar of Allahabad, while moving Resolution II observed : "Glory in the first place to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the leader of disunion, the patriarch of jealousy, the parent of obstinacy, the ancestor of doggedness and the living saint of Anti-Congressists."¹⁶ Nasir Ali Shohrat of Delhi said : "There is no sort of disunion amongst Mahomedans and Hindus. All are of one mind. No doubt Sir Syed Ahmed and his now microscopic following tried to create such disunion, but all see now with what conspicuous failure." Syed Sarfuddin stated that in the recent municipal election at Patna out of 20 elected members 13 were Mahomedans ^{18(a)}.

The total number of delegates, both Hindu and Moslem, fell at the Calcutta session in 1890. The number of Moslem delegates was 116 but it constituted 16.5% of the total number of delegates present in place of the 13.2% of the previous year. But the tension between the

* The correct number should be 20 crores. In 1901 the Moslems numbered over 62 millions, or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population.

two communities became more acute on account of the agitation for the protection of the life of cows to which the Moslems took the most serious objection. In 1891 the number of Moslem^e delegates fell to 71, though next year 91 of them attended the Congress at Allahabad. In 1893 riots broke out in western India. Swami Shraddha-nanda writes that a Muslim Mokhtar was engaged to enlist Moslem sympathy for the Congress at Jullundhar. His efforts appear to have been successful to a certain extent. The total number of Moslem delegates at the Lahore session in 1893 was 65. But many of them claimed exemption from the payment of delegation fee as well as the messing charge on the plea that they were religious preachers.¹⁹

The next session (1894) met at Madras. On account of the continuance of the riots many Moslem gentlemen kept themselves off from the Congress. Only 23 Moslem delegates attended the Congress. The majority of those who had enthusiastically joined the Congress in 1887 were absent seven years afterwards. Henceforward we find that both the absolute number and the proportionate ratio of Moslem delegates reached almost the lowest level whenever the Congress met in the southern Presidency. At the Madras session in 1898 it was 10, in 1903 it fell to 9 which again rose to 10 in 1908 but declined to 8 in 1914. The distance of Madras must have been one of the contributory factors responsible for the fall in the number of Moslem delegates. The low percentage of Moslem population in Madras was another factor. But the tension of feeling between the two communities must have been the main cause.

In 1896 Rahamatullah M. Sayani (1847-1902) discussed in his Presidential address most elaborately the alleged reasons for the comparative apathy manifested by the people of his community towards the Indian National Congress. He classified these reasons under seventeen heads and proved that there was absolutely no valid cause for their abstention. He made a lengthy quotation from a speech delivered by Syed Ahmad Khan at Aligarh on the 10th May, 1866 in which the Moslems had been exhorted upon to express openly and honestly their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government. Sayani made a fervent appeal to the Moslem community to join the Congress in larger number. He told them that they would get everything they demanded provided only that their number in the Congress was adequate. He even went to the extent

of quoting with approval a remark made by the Hon'ble Haji Mohamed Ismail Khan of the North-West Provinces to the effect that the Congress should pass a resolution "recognising absolute necessity of equality of number of Hindu and Mohamedan elected members in Legislative Councils, District Boards and Municipalities." The comment on such a preposterous suggestion offered by Rahamatullah M. Sayani was as follows : "It is a good suggestion, but so long as Mussalmans do not join the Congress movement in the same number and with the same enthusiasm as the Hindus do, the Congress cannot in fairness be asked to carry out such suggestion in the manner and to the extent indicated in the suggestion."²⁰ This shows the difference between the attitude of a truly Nationalist Moslem thinker like Hamid Ali Khan and the much-trumpeted President of the Congress.

The appeal of Sayani did not have much effect on his co-religionists in 1897 or 1898. Sir Syed Ahmed breathed his last in 1898 and this sad event might have influenced the members of his community in abstaining from the Congress that year. Not a single Moslem from outside the Presidency of Madras joined the Madras Congress in 1898. Ananda Mohan Bose who was immensely popular both in Bengal and in Assam was the President of the session; but even his magnetic personality could not attract a single Moslem from the eastern, western or northern part of India.

This was, however, a purely temporary phase. The Moslems attended the Congress in unprecedented number when it met at Lucknow in 1899. The total number of delegates in the Congress that year was 739 and as many as 311 of them were Moslems. While the Moslems constituted 20% of the population of India, they formed 42% of those who attended the Congress as delegates. *India*, the organ of the Congress published from London quoted the *New Age* saying that 400 out of the 1000 delegates assembled were Moslems. The *Tribune* of Lahore wrote : "Fully one-half of the colossal throng were Mussalmans. From the members of the ex-royal family and the aristocracy to the shopkeepers in the bazar, all were there."²¹

A section of the Moslem population of Lucknow had started a vigorous campaign in the city against the Congress early in the winter of the year. The first step they took was to approach the Government with a request to the effect that no meeting should be allowed to be held in Lucknow lest the delegates from the Deccan bring the germ

of plague which, however, was not raging there at that time. The Lt. Governor said that he did not like to put any unnecessary impediment to the Congress. A committee was then formed to dissuade the Moslems from joining the Congress. A meeting attended by some nine hundred of them was held. Bansi Lall Singh, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress observed : "The great demonstration has come and gone without doing any damage to the Congress cause, while the presence of about 300 Mohammedan delegates from Lucknow alone already indicates that for the Anti-Congress, in these Provinces at least, the hour is not yet ripe." To be exact, the number of Moslem delegates from Lucknow was 290. Bengal sent one solitary figure, Moulavi Aliazzaman, B. A., Chairman of the Local Board, Faridpur. Poona sent one and Satara another. The rest came from the various towns of the N.W. Provinces. For example, Aligarh, Almora, Allahabad and Banaras each sent three Moslem delegates. Sitapur, Bareilly, Agra and Barabanki sent one each and Gonda sent two.

Swami Shraddhananda, however, furnishes a most damaging account of the Moslem delegates in the following words : "Sitting on the dais, the first thing I noticed was that the number of Muslim delegates was proportionately fourfold of what it was at Lahore in 1893. The majority of Muslim delegates had donned gold, silver or silk-embroidered *Choga* over their ordinary coarse suits of wearing apparel. It was rumoured that these *Chogas* had been lent by Hindu moneyed men for Congress *Tamasha*. Of some 433 delegates only some 30 had come from outside ; the rest belonged to Lucknow city. The majority were admitted free to delegates' board and lodging. Sir Syed Ahmed's anti-Congress League had tried in a public meeting to dissuade Muslims from joining the Congress as delegates. As a counter-move the Congress people lighted the whole Congress camp some four nights before the session began and advertised that ingress that night would be free. The result was that all the 'Chandukhanna' of Lucknow were emptied and a large audience of some 30,000 Hindus and Muslims was addressed from half a dozen platforms. It was there that the Muslim delegates were elected or selected. All this was admitted by the Lucknow Congress Organisers to me in private." These lines must have been written in a spirit of extreme levity. Factual as well as logical errors abound in them despite the

* so-called confidential source of the Swamiji's information. First, the number of Moslem delegates at Lahore in 1893 was 65 and it rose to 311 and not 433 at Lucknow; in any case it was not fourfold but fivefold. Secondly, if all but some thirty were citizens of Lucknow there could not have arisen any question of providing them with free board and lodging. Thirdly, if the Congress camp was lighted some four nights before the beginning of the session, there could not have been any *tamasha* inside the camp to which admittance was advertised to have been free. Fourthly, it is unbelievable that the Moslem delegates of Lucknow were so poor that they had to borrow *Chogas* from the Hindus and that the shape and the size of those who lent and those who borrowed exactly tallied. Fifthly, from the List of Delegates we find that the prefix Nawab was added to the names of as many as 77 persons, excluding those who called themselves Nawab but described their occupation as service. ** There can be no doubt that many of them were highly respectable persons and some were actually descendants of the ex-royal families of Oudh and Delhi.

The enthusiasm of the Moslem community of the Punjab was much weaker than that of their brethren in Oudh. Only 56 Moslem delegates attended the Lahore session of the Congress in 1900. Next year when the Congress met in Calcutta their number rose to 76. Of these 34 were from Bengal proper, 20 from Bihar, 6 each from the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, the Punjab including Delhi, and Madras, and 4 from the Central Provinces and Berar. The same year witnessed the birth of an association entitled "The Political and Social Organization of the Moslems" with its headquarters at Aligarh. This evidently superseded the United Indian Patriotic Association of which nothing was heard after its birth in 1888.

By this time Lord Curzon had been openly denouncing the Congress activities and expressing his strong disapproval of such persons as were contributing to the funds of the Congress. Sir Henry Cotton writes in his memoirs that the secret Police shadowed even the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who was a strong supporter of the

** The serial number of delegates in 1899 Congress having the prefix Nawab was as follows: 204-209, 212-214, 238-240, 259-264, 269-274, 277-283, 285-286, 288-289, 291-294, 297-298, 300, 303-305, 307, 309-311, 322-324, 326-328, 330, 334, 338, 353, 358, 360, 365, 366, 373, 375, 376, 379, 386, 396, 400, 405, 406, 424, 438 and 442. Many of them must have been called Nawab by courtesy.

Congress. When the Congress met at Ahmedabad in 1902 only 20 Moslem delegates were present in it. Of these 17 were from Ahmedabad itself, 2 from Bombay and 1 only from Bengal.

The plan for partitioning Bengal was being considered by the Government seriously ever since the early months of 1903. It is generally assumed that the Mohammedans as a community were in favour of the partition of Bengal, while the Congress was deadly opposed to it. But Nawab Syed Ameer Hussain, the Secretary of the Central National Muhammadan Association, in his reply, dated February, 1904 to the query of the Government expresses the opposition of his Association to the Partition and said that it was neither necessary nor desirable. If, however, the Government was determined upon it the Province of Assam might be reconstituted with a Lieutenant Governor and a Council. On the other hand, a predominantly Hindu Association, called the Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha with Jagannath Barua as President welcomed the idea of Partition on February 10, 1904 provided that certain rights for the Assamese were definitely reserved.

Tension between the two communities ran very high after the Partition. The number of Moslem delegates to the Congress fell to 18 at the Varanasi session of the Congress in 1905. But A. H. Gaznavi, Zamindar of Muktagacha of Mymensingh, in his speech on the Repressive Measures in Bengal (Resolution XIII) openly declared in the Congress: "The Government officials presided over public meetings and they told their friends that it is to your interests that you must not be united with Hindus. You will find it in the Koran that Hindus and Mohammedans should not join together." Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh quoted in his undelivered Surat speech large extracts from a Red Pamphlet distributed in 1907 at Jamalpur, Mymensingh exhorting the Muslims not to buy anything from a Hindu shop, not to touch any article manufactured by Hindu hands, and not to give any employment to a Hindu. The Government did nothing except binding its author for good conduct for one year only. Such an atmosphere was not conducive to the attendance of many Moslem delegates at the Congress. But on the 21st of December, 1906 the Bengal Mohammedan Association elected 7 representatives to the Congress including A. Rasul, Barrister-at-Law. The total number of Moslem delegates to the

'Calcutta Congress rose to 45. Amongst them was Mohammed Ali Jinnah, who moved an amendment to Resolution No. IX relating to the scheme of representation in the Legislature. The Official Resolution had provided for certain reservations for such communities as were educationally backward. Jinnah delivered his memorable maiden speech in the Congress in course of which he said : "I understand that by backward class is meant the Mohammedan community. If the Mohammedan is meant by it, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the Mohammedan community should be treated in the same way as the Hindu community. The foundation upon which the Indian National Congress is based is that we are all equal, that there should be no reservation for any class or any community and my whole object is that the reservation should be deleted." The amendment moved by Mr. Jinnah was seconded by M. Abdul Kasim of Burdwan, who said : "If you have these words, then it will give a handle to Government to introduce any sort of reservation that they please. As to the Mahommedans, it is an insult to their intelligence and to their culture to suppose that they are not equal to combat with other races. As for minority, they should not be afraid of their being numerically few. Because, if in India we are in the minority, the Congress safeguards our interest. If we are in minority, the Parsees are in a greater minority." Had the Moslems of India borne this advice in mind the history of India would have taken an altogether different shape. His was no solitary voice. In 1910 Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan of Lucknow told the Congress : "Separate electorate for Mahomedans, seats in the Councils reserved for Mahomedans in excess of their numerical strength are no doubt great allurements, for they bring immediate gain to a certain number of Mahomedan gentlemen, but in reality they are calculated to do no good to the community at large, for they are sure to alienate the Hindu sympathies from it, and, therefore, as long as the two communities remain divided from each other by sectarian jealousies and animosities, the larger and wider interests of the whole Indian nation are bound to suffer."¹⁴

In 1911 Bishan Narayan Dar in his Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress showed that the Rule allowing Moslem candidates to contest the general seats, not reserved for their community gave representation to them over and above what was guaranteed to them

by the Weightage system. In 1912 Tej Bahadur Sapru moved the following amendment: "So long as separate electorates are in existence, those who are eligible to be voters or candidates in them should not be allowed to be voters or candidates in the general electorate." But the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque made a personal appeal to Dr. Sapru to the effect that at least for one year for the sake of the Mahomedan brethren he should drop the Resolution. Dr. Sapru withdrew the amendment.³⁵ This shows that the Hindu members of the Congress were ready to sacrifice even their legitimate interests for the sake of appeasing the Moslem delegates. In his speech before the Supreme Legislative Council in 1913 Mahomed Ali Jinnah declared: "I say Sir, that I am proud that I belong to the Congress Party." He joined the Congress for the first time in 1906 when he was thirty years of age. He was then serving Dadabhai Naoroji as his Private Secretary. He took an active part in the deliberations of the Congress in 1908, 1910, 1913 and 1917. In 1910 he expressed his disapproval of the scheme of communal representation in Local Bodies. He was, however, much too busy a lawyer to attend every session of the Congress. He was absent from the Congress in 1909, 1911, 1912 and also in 1915 when the session was being held in Bombay itself. He was one of the Congress delegates to England in 1914. He took much greater interest in the affairs of the Congress than Syed Badruddin Tyabji, Rahamatullah M. Sayani and Syed Hasan Imam. Yet he was never offered the Presidentship of the Congress. He left the Congress on September 30, 1921.

Since 1866 Sir Syed Ahmed had revised his opinion regarding the joining of political movement by the Moslems. From 1887 he had been preaching absolutely whole-hearted co-operation with the British Government. He had warned the members of his community against joining a political movement which savoured of Government opposition however mild and constitutional it might be.³⁶ But the creation of the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with a majority of Moslem population and the encouragement of the demand for special weightage for the Moslem community from persons in high authority in the Government of India made it necessary to organise the Moslem League in 1906. Sir Ali Imam in his Presidential address at the Amritsar session of the Muslim League in 1908 showed that there were many points of similarity in the

demand for reforms between the Congress and the Muslim League. Within fifteen years of the demise of Sir Syed Ahmed the Moslem League declared the attainment of self-government to be their aim and objective. Sir Syed Ahmed would never have agreed to such a resolution. The Karachi session of the Congress held in 1913 congratulated the League by passing the following resolution : "That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All India Moslem League of the ideal of self-government for India within the British Empire." Thus the path was cleared for the formation of the Congress-League scheme of reform of Legislature.

A clear view of the numerical extent of the participation of Moslems in the Congress may be had from the chart given below :

President	Year	Venue	Total no. of delegates	No. of Moslem delegates	Percentage of Moslem delegates to the total
W. C. Bonnerjee	1885	Bombay	72	2	2.7
Dadabhai Naoroji	1886	Calcutta	434	33	7.6
Syed Badruddin Tyabji	1887	Madras	607	79	13.0
George Yule	1888	Allahabad	1248	222	17.7
William Wedderburn	1889	Bombay	1913	254	13.2
Sir Pherozeshah Mehta	1890	Calcutta	702	116	16.5
Anand Charlu	1891	Nagpur	812	71	8.6
W. C. Bonnerjee	1892	Allahabad	625	91	14.5
Dadabhai Naoroji	1893	Lahore	867	65	7.5
Alfred Webb	1894	Madras	1163	23	1.9
Surendranath Banerjee	1895	Poona	1584	25	1.5
Rahamatullah M. Sayani	1896	Calcutta	784	54	6.9
Sankaran Nair	1897	Amraoti	692	57	8.2
Ananda Mohan Bose	1898	Madras	614	10	1.6
R. C. Dutt	1899	Lucknow	740	313	4.2
Chandavarkar	1900	Lahore	567	56	9.8
D. E. Wacha	1901	Calcutta	896	76	8.4
Surendranath Banerjee	1902	Ahmedabad	471	20	4.2
Lal Mohan Ghosh	1903	Madras	538	9	1.8
Sir Henry Cotton	1904	Bombay	1010	35	3.4
G. K. Gokhale	1905	Varanasi	758	18	2.3

President	Year	Venue	Total no. of delegates	No.-of Moslem delegates	Percentage of Moslem delegates to the total .
Dadabhai Naoroji	1906	Calcutta	1663	45	3.1
Rash Behari Ghosh	1908	Madras	626	10	1.5
Madan Mohan Malaviya	1909	Lahore	243	5	2.0
Sir William Wedderburn	1910	Allahabad	636	19	2.9
Bishan Narayan Dar	1911	Calcutta	446	9	2.0
R. N. Mudholkar	1912	Patna	207	6	2.8
Syed Mahomed Bahadur	1913	Karachi	349	13	3.7
Bhupendra Nath Basu	1914	Madras	866	8	0.9
Sir S. P. Sinha	1915	Bombay	2259	85	3.7

CHAPTER VI

THE INNER CIRCLE OF THE CONGRESS

There was no Constitution of the Congress during the first fifteen years of its existence. We cannot, therefore, locate the inner circle of the Congress in the Congress Committee, because no such body existed before 1899. But there is no reference to the election or selection of any such body in 1901 and 1902. A chorus song sung in English and in Gujarati at the twentieth session of the Congress at Bombay in 1904 gives an idea as to who were the leading persons in the estimation of the admirers of Pherozeshah Mehta, who happened to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It ran as follows :

Onward Congress soldiers
Leaders of the Land
Cheer the heart of India
And united stand.
Hume, the Congress-father,
Cotton in the Chair
Wedderburn and Tyabji
Shine like stars so fair !
Dadabhai and Mehta
Romesh Chandra great
Sail the ship of Congress
Through a stormy strait.
Ranade and Wacha
Banerjee and Iyer
Drive the car of Congress
'midst a muddy mire.
Telang, Gokhale, Rampal,
Madan Mohan, Ghose
Through the ranks of soldiers
See Ayodhya, Bose !'

If we follow the Upanisadic method of investigation by elimination (*neti neti*) we may dismiss those who have got little or no claim to be considered as belonging to the inner circle of the Congress. Sir Henry Cotton presided over the Congress in 1904, and

was highly sympathetic towards Indians no doubt. Apart from himself, his father, grandfather and son were also members of the Civil Service in India and his great-grandfather served the East India Company. In spite of such a long connection with India as a member of the ruling group he was not arrogant. He gave a dinner party on the 19th February, 1887 at his 3, Kyd Street residence in Calcutta and it was attended not only by the big European officials and Moslem grandees but also by leaders of the Congress like A.O. Hume, W.C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Monomohan Ghosh, Lalmohan Ghosh, Ananda Mohan Bose and Narendranath Sen. It is interesting to note that Cotton mentions that among those who responded to his invitation were Mr. and Mrs. Satyendranath Tagore, Jyotirindranath and his brother "Rabindranath, the famous poet."⁷ The publication of his book *New India* in 1904 must have been one of the factors responsible for his selection as the President of the Congress. In this book he put forward all the important causes for the growth of Nationalist Opposition to the British Government in the following sentence: "Legislation designed to curtail the liberty of the Press and speech, the crusade against so-called sedition; the attempt to abolish trial by jury; the forcible introduction of harsh plague regulations, subsequently withdrawn; the blows that have been dealt at local self-government, especially in Calcutta; the systematic discouragement of popular institutions; the deliberate encouragement of provincial segregation; the substitution of a system of nomination to Government service in the place of competitive examinations; the practical declaration of race disqualification for public offices; the hampering and fettering of unaided colleges and schools and the general sinister drift in favour of officialising all branches of education;these and other measures have had their effect in inspiring the Opposition with fresh life".⁸ He quoted with approval from his brother's book entitled *India* and published by Macmillan & Co. in 1883 in the English Citizen Series, the opinion he held about the attainments of Indians as follows: "Men who speak better English than most Englishmen, who read Mill and Comte, Max Muller and Maine, who occupy with distinction seats on the judicial bench, who administer the affairs of native states with many millions of inhabitants, who manage cotton mills and conduct the boldest operations of

commerce, who edit newspapers in English and correspond on equal terms with the scholars of Europe—these can no longer be treated as an inferior breed”.⁴ But so far as the Congress organisation was concerned, he was an outsider. Anand Charlu says that Cotton attended the first Congress on the last day;⁵ but he himself writes that he visited the Congress for the first time in 1886.⁶ He did not attend any other session of the Congress either before or after the year of his Presidentship.

Similar was the case with Syed Badruddin Tyabji. He did not attend the first or the second session of the Congress; though he presided over the third session at Madras in 1887. He was elevated to the Bench in 1895 and was thus free to attend the Congress between 1888 and 1894, but he never cared to do so. The letters which Sir Syed Ahmed wrote to him produced such an effect on him that he proposed to Hume in 1888 that the Congress should cease to meet for the next five years, after which period it might be considered whether there was any need for such an organisation. Hume, too, took up the suggestion so seriously that Dadabhai Naoroji had to write to him: “The Congress meetings should not be stopped. Such an action will put back India’s progress a generation, or at least for years”.⁷

Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848-1909) presided over the memorable Congress session held at Lucknow in 1899. He had, however, little opportunity to take an active part in the Congress. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1869 and tendered resignation in 1897, when he was less than fifty years old. As he had to spend the greater portion of the next six years in England, he could not devote much time to the Congress work in India before 1904. The only Congress in which he delivered speeches as a delegate was the Varanasi session, held in 1905. He, therefore, cannot be considered as a member of the inner circle.

The same remark applies to Ananda Mohan Bose and Lal Mohan Ghosh, who adorned the Presidential Chair at Madras in 1898 and 1903 respectively. It may be mentioned in this connection that Madras seemed to have a special fascination for Boses and Ghoshes. Between 1885 and 1917 the Congress was held six times at Madras. While the sessions in 1887 and 1894 were presided over by a Moslem and an Irish Christian, in 1898 and 1914 Anand Mohan Bose and Bhupendranath Basu were in the Chair and in 1903 and 1908

Lal Mohan Ghosh and Rash Behari Ghosh were put at the head of the Congress organisation respectively. Calcutta, however, never returned the compliment. During the aforesaid period Calcutta invited the Congress seven times, of which five sessions were presided over by the distinguished citizens of Bombay like Dadabhai Naoroji (1886 and 1906), Sir Pherozeshah Mehta (1890), Rahamatullah M. Sayani (1896) and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1901). Bishan Narayan Dar (misspelt in the official Congress Report and in Annie Besant's book as Dhar), a Kashmiri Brahmana settled in the Uttar Pradesh and Dr. Annie Besant were selected as President in 1911 and 1917 respectively. The Congress met four times in the Bombay City itself and three times at Poona (1895), Ahmedabad (1902) and Surat (1907) within the Bombay Presidency. Out of these seven sessions two were presided over by Englishmen – Wedderburn (1889) and Cotton (1904), three by Banerjees (W. C. Bonnerjee in 1885 and Surendranath in 1895 and 1902), one by Rash Behari Ghosh (1907) and another by Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (1915).

Ananda Mohan Bose, with his brilliant academic career and the ownership of a big Tea estate in Assam occupied a higher social status than most of the leaders in Bengal. He was the founder-secretary of the Indian Association and continued to discharge the duties of the post from 1876 to 1885. As a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1886, he established his reputation for being an excellent speaker and debater. When the Congress met for the first time in Calcutta in that year we find him as a leader of a considerable number of Bengali delegates. Hume writes, "Messrs Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjea managed to get together, elsewhere, informal committees of over a 100 of the Bengal delegates, ascertain their views and communicate to other leaders of provinces". While Surendranath Banerjea threw himself heart and soul into the Congress work from 1887, we find Ananda Mohan keeping away from it during the next nine years. He did not join the Madras Congress in 1887. His name did not occur in the Delegates' List even in 1890 when the Congress was meeting in Calcutta. He did not go to the Poona session of the Congress in 1895 when his friend and colleague was honoured as the President. Like Surendranath he was then a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. On the 3rd August, 1895 he had to oppose the Bengal Sanitary Drainage Bill which Romesh Chandra Dutt, as a nominated

official member claimed to have given its final shape. Ananda Mohan condemned the Bill by stating that : "We have Mill's high authority for stating that taxation of this character is partial confiscation and a violation of justice"⁹. He was one of the finest orators of the age. The *Indian People* of Allahabad wrote that he was the first Indian to be elected as a delegate to and address the National Liberal Federation and that when he seconded a resolution moved by Morley condemning the work of the Tory Government, people said that his oration was the most effective¹⁰. It is strange that such a powerful speaker and organiser kept himself away from the Congress platform prior to 1896. He did not deliver any speech in the Congress before 1896 nor did he ever appear on the forum of the Congress after the delivery of his Presidential address in 1898.

Lalmohan Ghosh (1849-1909) was such a forceful orator that before the birth of the Congress, the Indian Association sent him twice (1879 and 1883) to England to plead the cause of political advancement of India. John Bright paid high tributes to his oratorical power. He was twice selected by the Liberal Party as a candidate for election to the House of Commons. But curiously enough such a person did not take any active part in the Congress movement. He did not attend any Congress at all before 1890, in which year he spoke in the Calcutta Congress on the expansion and reform of the Legislative Council. Nor did he stir out of Calcutta to join any other Congress session before or after his election as President in 1903. The resolution he moved in 1896, 1901 and 1906 was merely a vote of thanks. Pherozechah Mehta while proposing Lalmohan as President in the Madras Congress referred to him not with a very good grace, as a political Yogi,¹¹ who had retired long from active political life. The criticism was not entirely unjustifiable. It is needless to say that such a person cannot be considered as belonging to the Inner Circle. But during the agitation over the partition of Bengal he came out of seclusion and suggested that the Bengalees should observe mourning for twelve months and relinquish all honorary offices.

Raja Rampal Singh, a rich Talookdar of Oudh, was a person of the most unique type. He had lived in England for ten years and had studied there Latin, French and German language and diverse subjects like Music and Logic. In 1883 he became

the President of the National Representative Committee in London. He married an English lady. But as Nagendra Nath Gupta relates neither his prolonged stay in England nor the English mode of living had produced the slightest effect upon his appearance and speech. He had long hairs flowing down his neck. According to G. Parameshwaram Pillai he moved about with an enormous stick in hand and stammered when he spoke. This, however, did not deter him from making speeches. From a report published in the *Hindu* we learn that he went to Madras on a lecture tour nearly a year before the birth of the Congress and delivered a lecture at Madras on "India under Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon and its Future."¹¹

* Raja Rampal Singh joined the Congress in 1886 and delivered as many as four speeches on subjects ranging from felicitation to Queen Victoria to the throwing open of the Army to Indian volunteers. He was rather regular in attending all the sessions of the Congress till 1896 and invariably spoke on three or four resolutions every year. He was entrusted with the duties of Secretary of the Reception Committee at the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1888. But he never rose to top-ranking leadership.

K. T. Telang (1850-1893) was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. Soon after his death Dadabhai Naoroji referred to him as the 'first hard-working Secretary' of the Congress in Bombay. He added: "From the very first he had taken a warm interest and active part in our work and even after he became a Judge his sound advice was always at our disposal". But it appears rather inexplicable that he did not attend the second and third sessions of the Congress held in Calcutta and Madras. He was present, however, in the fourth Congress at Allahabad in 1888. Next year he was elevated to the Bench and as such precluded himself from open participation in Congress activities. His connections with the Congress was too short to make him a member of the inner circle.

The same remark applies to another great son of India, Pandit Ayodhyanath (1840-1892), the distinguished father of the renowned public man Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru. He was an erudite scholar, an impressive speaker and an excellent organiser. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha describes him as "a venerable figure. Though by no means tall, he looked majestic with his long flowing beard streaked with grey; and dressed as he was in the head-gear and the

flowing costume, which obtained in Upper India in those days he impressed the audience as much by the *tout ensemble* as his address".¹¹ As the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress at Allahabad in 1888 he fought like a lion against the stiff opposition of the highest officials of the Province and made the session highly successful. He attended and addressed every subsequent session of the Congress so long as he lived. He was one of those who insisted in 1891 that the Congress should continue to meet so long as all its demands were not fulfilled. He was indeed, a great force in the Congress for four years, that is, from 1888 to 1891. Had Telang and Ayodhyanath lived longer they would have been able to guide the activities of the Congress with great distinction.

Both G. Subramania Iyer and S. Subramania Iyer were founder-members of the Congress. But while the former continued to take an active interest in the Congress till 1906, the latter did not attend any Congress after 1889. This absence can not be explained by his appointment as Judge of the Madras High Court, because he occupied that post from 1895 to 1907. He exerted considerable influence on the Congress organization during the first five years. G. Subramania Iyer wielded a powerful pen. He was the founder-editor of the *Hindu* and one of the organisers of the Madras Mahajana Sabha. He moved or supported important resolutions in the Congress at every session he attended. But he was never selected as President of the Congress, though within the period of thirty-three years covered by us only two Hindus from Madras, Ananda Charlu and Sankaran Nair were ever asked to preside, as compared to 9 Bengalis, 3 Marathis, 3 Parsis, 3 Indian Moslems, 2 U.P. men and 5 Europeans. One of the reasons which stood in the way of his selection was that on account of his advanced views on social reforms he was not liked much in his home province or in the conservative circle in other provinces. He was bold enough to practise what he preached. He gave his widowed daughter in marriage. He advocated through his paper that the Congress should not remain neutral on questions of social reform. Thus he wrote in 1891: "By giving prominence to certain social problems, it (the Congress) would run no risk of narrowing its national character. It would not repel politicians and it would attract many who are not primarily politiciansIt is not entirely a question of convenience. It is one that will ultimately have to be decided on grounds of moral

duty and historical necessity and the time for the decision cannot be far distant".¹⁴ It was on this question, however, that the first split in the rank of Mahratta leaders took place in 1895. Damodar Hari Chapekar, who was hanged for the murder of Rand writes in his autobiography that the social reformers were far more pernicious than the Congress agitators ¹⁵. G. Subramania Iyer was selected as one of the Congress delegates to England to represent the cause of India, when he ventured to go there, in violation of the caste rules, to give evidence before the Welby Commission.

We have so far, eliminated 9 out of the 18 names mentioned in the song sung in chorus at the sitting of the Congress in 1904. Of the remaining nine, Allan Octavian Hume (1829-1912) stands out foremost. He was maligned during his lifetime by the official circle in India and the Imperialists in England. In the House of Commons one Mr. Maclean said during the debate on the India Council Bill on April 25, 1892 that "Mr. Hume, the Secretary of the Congress, is a pensioner of the Government who under a less mild rule than ours would be hanged or shot as a traitor". In a letter dated June 23, 1886, addressed to Northbrook, Dufferin characterised Hume as "cleverish, a little cracked, excessively vain and absolutely indifferent to truth". In a letter to Cross, dated November 18, 1888 he called Hume an idiot. In another letter dated December 3, addressed to the same person he said that many persons had been watching with wonder the "immunity extended to what in its views are the insubordinate proceedings of the Congress-wallahs, such as Mr. Hume's foolish threats of insurrection and dissemination of the libels and calumnies contained in the *Tamil Catechism* and similar publications"¹⁶. It is against all canons of historical criticism to place absolute reliance on the estimation of the character of a person by his professed political opponents. But some recent writers have disregarded this elementary principle while writing about Hume. He has even been disowned as the father of the Congress and depicted as one forlorn figure, disclaimed by his colleagues, Indians as well as Europeans. The circular letter Hume addressed to every member of the Congress on the 16th February, 1892, was marked "private and confidential", but the *Morning Post* of Allahabad published it *in extenso*. In it Hume pointed out that poverty, injustice and despair might drive the people to take recourse to revolution.

The only way to avert this was to get implemented the reforms advocated by the Congress. He, therefore, implored the members of the Congress to make handsome contribution so that deputations might constantly be sent to Great Britain and large number of pamphlets, leaflets etc. might be printed and circulated there. These were, according to him, the only means of awakening the British public to a sense of duty to India. The mere talk of revolution frightened men like P. M. Mehta, D. E. Wacha and Pandit Bishambhar Nath so much that they induced the Bombay and Allahabad Standing Committees to stop the circulation of the letter. It is probable on account of these that W. C. Bonnerjee considered it safer to state in his Presidential address in 1892 : "The Congress movement is only to some extent, and I may say, only a limited extent due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us." But Eardly Norton, on behalf of Madras Committee, said that the letter "breathed nothing but a simple strain of the purest loyalty to the Queen." He further added that Mr. Hume "was a man than whom no Englishman had a better knowledge of the native aspirations and the causes from which they spring."¹⁷ Gokhale also said : "All that the Indian National Congress had done during the seven years of its existence was principally Mr. Hume's work."¹⁸ Had Hume lost his influence over the Congress, almost all its leaders would not have pressed him to continue as Secretary in 1893. He left India finally in 1894 but year after year he was elected Secretary, sometimes on a motion from the Chair, till he relinquished the post in 1906 at the age of 77. So long as he was in India he took meticulous care to indicate the particulars of those who delivered speeches in the Congress by putting against their name, their serial number in the List of Delegates. As this practice was given up after 1896 and as numerous mistakes disfigured the official Report of the Congress it became extremely difficult to find out who was who among the Congress speakers.

Hume was revered by every Congressman as the father of the Congress. Like a father he would sometimes rebuke even an elderly Congressman like Wacha, who complained about it once to Dadabhai Naoroji. The latter wrote to him on May 31, 1889: "Trust him as one with whose scolding we must put up as we would do of an elder brother or father. We can not repay him adequately for what he has

done and is doing for us.”¹⁹ G. Parameshwaram Pillai wrote of him in 1899 : “A man of strong feeling and pronounced views, he is strong in his adjectives and even vehement in his denunciations. But beneath his vehemence you perceive the swell of his soul, his sleepless humanity.”²⁰

At a memorial meeting held in the Town Hall, Calcutta on the 28th August, 1912, Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh said that in founding the Congress Hume showed the highest form of courage.²¹ At Bankipore session, the Congress placed on record that Allan Octavian Hume was the father and founder of the Indian National Congress. The motion was moved by Bhupendra Nath Basu, and seconded by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Basu related how on meeting Hume after a lapse of twenty years in the Committee Room of the British Committee of the Congress he bowed his head to the ground and took the dust of his feet. Hume was then 85 years old ; and yet he recognised Basu, embraced him and shed tears of joy.²² Pandit Motilal Nehru said : “He taught us how to fight bloodless battles of constitutional reform. He took us by the hand ; he adopted us, if I may say, as his children, and he taught us the right way to take.....Well may we, our children and our children’s children remember the name of Mr. Allan Hume through succeeding generations with gratitude and reverence”.²³ But within 52 years of the utterance of these words some Indian scholars have rushed forward to disclaim his fatherhood of the Congress and to describe him as a mere wet nurse. R. N. Mudholkar in his Presidential address described Hume as “the father, the founder of the Congress, he who worked for it day and night, winter and summer, through good repute and ill, to tend, to nourish, the child of his affection”. It has been said that maternity is a certainty while paternity is a matter of opinion. Is it reasonable to deny him the father-hood of the Congress when so many eminent leaders of India attribute it to him ?

Hume with his enormous influence could have become the President of the Congress any time he liked. But he seems to have passed a self-denying ordinance against himself. During the last eighteen years of his life he preferred to carry on the work of the Congress from England. Sir William Wedderburn was closely associated with him in all the activities undertaken by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Wedderburn was an

official of the Bombay Government when the first Congress met in Bombay. He attended the session and ever afterwards took a keen interest in promoting the 'aims and objects of the Congress. He was the only Britisher to be elected President twice - in 1889 and 1910. When Sir Henry Cotton came to India to preside over the Bombay session in 1904, Wedderburn accompanied him and delivered a short speech on the need of sending a delegation to England. This is the only occasion when he chose to speak from the Congress platform as an ordinary delegate. Though he usually spent his time in England, yet he may be said to be one of the few persons in the inner circle of the Congress. He wrote numerous letters to Gokhale and other leading personalities of the Congress, giving advice as to the course to be adopted by the organization. His letters to Gokhale are preserved in the original in the National Archives. It was a habitual practice of the Congress to move a vote of thanks to Wedderburn almost every year.

Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) is rightly considered as a patriarch of the Congress. He was one of the founders of the Bombay Association in 1852 and of the East India Association in London in 1867. He is the only person who was called upon to preside over the Congress session three times (1889, 1893 and 1906) during the period selected by us. But like William Wedderburn he spoke at only one Congress as an ordinary delegate. This was in 1885 when he delivered two speeches on the reform of the Legislative Council and one each on resolutions relating to the Enquiry into the condition of India and the Covenanted Service. He was at that time a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. In March, 1886, he went to England, with a view to standing as a candidate for election to the House of Commons. He came back to India just to preside over the Calcutta session of the Congress and went back to England, where after an effort of six years he succeeded in winning the election from the Central Finsbury constituency by a majority of three votes (2959 to 2956) on July 6, 1892. As the first Indian M. P. he was honoured by the Congress with a second term of Presidentship in 1893. But he had to spend practically all his time in England till 1907 when in the eighty-third year he finally came back to India to spend the rest of his life in retirement. He had thus very little opportunity for guiding the day to day Congress affairs in India. But London was the heart and

centre of Congress activities in those days. Dadabhai Naoroji collaborated with Hume, Wedderburn and W. C. Bonnerjee in enlisting active support for the political aspirations of India. He also wrote a very large number of letters to the active workers of the Congress in India. Mahatma Gandhi has described how he found him in England "writing his letters in copying ink, and preparing press copies himself in his garret which was perhaps eight feet by six feet".¹⁴ In his letters he offered advice as to what sort of person should be selected as President of the Congress¹⁵ and how the fight for the rights of Indians should be conducted in South Africa. Gokhale admitted that he could think of no mean thought and conceive no mean project in the presence of three persons namely Dadabhai Naoroji, M. G. Ranade and M. K. Gandhi ¹⁶.

In the nineteenth century Dadabhai Naoroji was actuated by a strong faith in the sincerity of desire of the Britishers to follow a just and right policy in India. In his Presidential speech in 1893 he said : "The British people are willing to grant what is shown to be reasonable". In 1906, however, he admitted that the disappointments he had met in his political efforts "were sufficient to break any heart, and lead one to despair and even, I am afraid, to rebel". Some Nationalists dared to jeer at Naoroji for this change of front¹⁷. Gokhale replied "whether Mr. Dadabhai used mild words or bitter words, our place is round his standard—by his side. Whoever repudiates Dadabhai he is none of us. Whoever tries to lay rude and irreverent hands on him, strike him down ¹⁸".

In 1903 Lalmohan Ghosh referred to some people becoming Despots in the Congress circle. Pherozeshah Mehta (1845-1915) thought that the reference was to his own self and replied : "Can there be any greater calumny on a mild Parsee than that ?" Commenting on this incident the *Madras Standard* wrote : "Even if Mr. Mehta be a despot, we would rather have the Congress led by him than by the most popular of our democrats. If the Congress is to be under the despotism of one man, it will be to its advantage to be under the despotism of such a man as Mr. Mehta, perhaps the ablest and the most picturesque of Congress leaders". The question arose because he got the Reception Committee of the Ahmedabad Congress to select Surendranath Banerjee as President in 1902 in disregard of the wishes of many who wanted to honour Kalicharan

Banerjee as the first Indian Christian President of the Congress. Men like G. Subramania Iyer and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha condemned 'this step as' undemocratic because the Congress Committees of other Provinces were not consulted. In the Bombay session of the Congress in 1904 Lala Murlidhar, a Pleader of Ambala complained in the Subjects Committee that Pherozeshah wore down all opposition and carried away everything his own way. Pherozeshah Mehta asked as to why the members did not press their views upon the Committee and carry it with them. Lala Murlidhar interjected : "But your personality carries everything before it". Mehta quickly retorted : "I can't help my personality, gentlemen, can I ?"

When did Pherozeshah Mehta become the leader of the Congress? His biographer puts his activities in the years between 1889 and 1890 under the caption "Leader of the Congress". But the official reports of the Congress reveal that his attendance at the Congress throughout the last fifteen years of the last century was most sporadic. He took active part, indeed, in the Congress in 1885, but he was absent in the Congress sittings both in Calcutta and Madras in 1886 and 1887. Had he got a genuine interest in the Congress in these formative years he would not have absented himself. He was present, indeed, at the Allahabad session of the Congress in 1888. In 1889 he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee for the Bombay session. Next year the leaders of the Congress tried to persuade Herbert Gladstone and several others to accept the Presidentship of the Congress, but as their efforts did not succeed, they offered it to Pherozeshah M. Mehta. He attended the Congress at Nagpur in 1891, but practically for the whole of next eight or nine years, 1892 to 1900, we find him absent from the Congress. In the List of Delegates to the Congress session held at Poona in 1895, his name occurs indeed, but we do not find him as speaker on the Congress platform. It is highly improbable that he remained merely a silent spectator. It is likely that after having got his name registered, he did not attend, or that he just paid a flying visit to Poona for a few hours. How could he maintain his leadership in spite of such long absence? It must be stated in this connection that Pherozeshah M. Mehta was an exceptionally busy man. Apart from his extensive practice at the Bar, he had to look after the affairs of the Bombay Corporation of

which he was a member for 46 years and of the University of Bombay, of which he was a member of the Senate for 40 years. He had to devote considerable time to the Supreme Legislative Council and the Bombay Legislative Council, of which according to the rules of those days, one could simultaneously be a member. He had to absent himself from the Governor General's Legislative Council too. For example, we find him absent at most of the sittings of the Supreme Legislative Council of 1894. He, however, began to take greater interest in Congress affairs from 1901. His leadership, therefore, became effective in the Congress circle during the last fifteen years of his life. Gokhale wanted that people should obey him implicitly. At a speech delivered in Madras he said: "It is true that we have not got many single-minded leaders in the country to lead us, but we are not wholly without them. We have one such man in Sir Pherozeshah Mehta—earnest and patriotic, possessing high abilities and qualified in every way to lead the country".¹¹ Tilak and his Nationalist followers, however, offered stiff opposition to his leadership. The rift between the two groups was avoided with great difficulty in 1906. G. S. Khaparde writes in his unpublished Diary, dated the 24th December, 1906: "Sir Pherozeshah was very gushing, put his arms round my neck and did other things which very much surprised me. This means there was to be strife between the old and the new school. He is said to be an adept in imposing his will on others both by cajoling and threatening".¹² The Moderates or Constitutionalists were forced to admit Tilak's amendment in the Subjects Committee. Khaparde gives an inside view of the Subjects Committee thus: "Sir Pherozeshah Mehta wished to sit near the President. This was objected to and there was a good deal of discussion. One thing very noticeable was that Sir P. Mehta and all old leaders generally had lost their influence. Sir P. Mehta tried to lecture the delegates but they would not stand it. He was repeatedly told to sit down. Even the President had to rule him out of order. Madan Mohan Malaviya made quite an exhibition of himself and Gokhale walked about and talked like a woman with a complaint".¹³ Lala Lajpat Rai invited the Congress to Lahore, but his offer was declined as the Punjab was then seething with great discontent. Nagpur was selected as the next venue of the Congress. But when it was found in September, 1907, that the Nationalists were

very powerful there, the Congress Committee met at the house of Pherozechah and decided to have the meeting at Surat. Several Nationalist gentlemen had gone to Bombay to plead for Nagpur but Mehta's Durwan turned them out. G. S. Khaparde states in his Diary that a shoe was hurled at Tilak in the Surat Congress, but it struck Surendranath and Pherozechah M. Mehta⁴⁴. That the shoe was aimed at Tilak is also corroborated by Jayakar⁴⁵ and the Bombay Police Report,⁴⁶ though all the biographers of Tilak are silent about it.

Pherozechah M. Mehta was selected as President of the Lahore session of the Congress in 1909. But he resigned only six days before the meeting without stating any reason. The Bombay correspondent of the *Capital*, however, stated that he apprehended big demonstration against him by the discontented Nationalists and therefore considered it prudent to decline the honour. He was determined to keep the Nationalists out of the Congress at any cost. When Bhupendra Nath Basu asked his opinion for the proposed reunion of the parties, he ridiculed the idea as "mawkish sentimentality". His unbending attitude was responsible for the weakening of the cause of the Congress. The number of delegates dwindled to 243 at Lahore, 446 in the Calcutta session in 1911 as compared to 1663 in 1906 and to 207 at the Bankipore session in 1912.

The influence of W. C. Bonnerjee (1844-1906) was far greater than that of any other Indian leader in the nineteenth century. Thus writes G. Parameshwaram Pillai about him in the last year of the last century: "Throughout India, no Congressman commands greater respect from his countrymen than Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee,.... It was he who captured brains and money for it (the Congress). He captured brains when he captured Bradlaugh. He captured money when he captured Darbhanga."⁴⁷ He was senior to Surendranath by four years only but the number of his friends in the official and aristocratic circle was far greater than that of Surendranath. It was he who arranged for the boarding house for Surendranath when the latter went to England to compete for the I. C. S. examination. He defended Surendranath in the famous contempt case and went with him to England on deputation for the Congress in 1890. There does not appear to have been any jealousy or rivalry between Surendranath and W. C. Bonnerjee. He must have been one of the

few persons who were responsible for selecting Dadabhai Naoroji as the President in 1886. Dadabhai said in his Presidential address that he got intimation about his selection only two days before the meeting. W. C. Bonnerjee must have been eager to return the compliment he had received from the Bombay leaders. He gave an insight into the process of selecting the President when in course of proposing William Wedderburn he said that a Hindu, a Parsee, a Muslim and an Englishman, George Yule, had been selected as Presidents in the four years and in 1889 "the next President ought, according to the process which we followed, to have been a gentleman belonging to the Eurasian community". He even mentioned the name of D. S. White but as the latter was lying ill and soon afterwards died, a retired British official was selected to succeed a non-official person of the European community. Khaparde relates how on the 31st December, 1897, when he was the Chairman of the Reception Committee at Amraoti : "Mr W. C. Bonnerjee in parting said that he would see me President of the Congress in a year or two. It was very kind of him to say so and I thanked him".^{88a}

W. C. Bonnerjee was generally very regular in attending the Congress. He could not be present in the Calcutta Congress in 1890 because of the illness and death of his third son. The resolution for election of the President and the appointment of Hume as Secretary was usually moved by him in the early years of the Congress. He was one of the three Standing Counsels of the Congress, the other two being Pherozeshah Mehta and Ananda Charlu. Like Hume and Wedderburn he attached much more importance to the propaganda work in Great Britain than in India. He does not appear to have been present in the Congress in 1898, 1899 and 1900, probably because of his failing health. He finally settled in England in 1902, where he lost his eye-sight in 1904 and died in 1906.

Like W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath was twice elected President. C. Y. Chintamani writes : "Whoever might be President, Surendranath Banerjee was, session after session, the central figure in the Congress".^{88b} Nevins paid a handsome tribute to his oratorical power when he wrote : "Except for Mr. Gladstone, I have heard no speaker use the grand rhetorical style of English with more assurance and success".⁸⁹ G. Parameshwaram Pillai states more emphatically : "If there is one man in all India who at the present moment could,

' by the power of his tongue stir up a rebellion or suppress a revolt, that is Mr. Surendranath Banerjee".⁴⁰ He further writes : "President or no President, he is recognised as one of the pillars of the Congress. Long before the Congress had become a reality, he had developed himself into a power in Bengal". But it is curious to note that he never acquired the influence which Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee or Pherozeshah Mehta exercised. Bepin Chandra Pal writes with absolute frankness : "Though the Congress leaders dared not keep him out, and was subsequently ever ready to exploit Surendra Nath's powers and influence in aid of their work, it is needless to conceal the fact that he never came to the actual leadership of this body; but on the contrary, with the spirit of accommodation, characteristic of the man, he has all along submitted to be led and exploited by his rivals, many of whom never cared even to conceal their want of regard for his personality or their want of appreciation of his worth".⁴¹

No other person in the Congress was more regular in taking an active part in the deliberations of the Congress than Surendranath. Between 1886 and 1917 he was absent only at the Karachi session in 1913. We find even the energetic Secretary of the Congress like Wacha absent from the Congress platform in 1887, 1896, 1901, 1905 and 1906. Malaviya did not deliver any speech in 1895, 1898, 1911, 1913 and 1914. Gokhale considered it prudent to remain silent from 1897 to 1903 because some demonstration was staged against him for his tendering an apology to the Government for a statement he made in England regarding the oppression of officials entrusted with the prevention of plague. R. N. Mudholkar was another regular figure on the Congress platform, but he too was absent during the first three years of the life of the Congress as well as in 1889, 1897, 1902, 1909 and 1910. Whenever there was any need of appealing for funds Surendranath was requested to make the appeal which invariably evoked immediate response.

Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1844-1936) was the Joint Secretary of the Congress from 1896 to 1909 and its Secretary from 1906 to 1912. As Hume had left India for good in 1894 the task of conducting the routine work of the Congress fell on him in 1896. He discharged his duties so efficiently that he was selected as President of the Congress in 1901. He did not consider it beneath his dignity to resume the duties of the Joint Secretary after the expiry of the period

of his Presidentship. The same was the case with Gokhale, who was elected as an associate of Wacha in performing the duties of Joint Secretary in 1904, was selected the President next year and again reverted to the post of Joint Secretary in 1906. Nawab Syed Muhammad Bahadur of Madras presided over the Congress session at Karachi in 1913 and immediately afterwards was elected its Secretary. This shows that the post of the Secretary was not less dignified than that of the President. D. A. Khare who was Joint Secretary of the Congress from 1909 to 1913 never rose to the position of the Secretary. The numerous letters which Dadabhai Naoroji wrote to Wacha from England even in 1885 show that he was considered to be a member of the Inner Circle of the Congress long before he became the Joint Secretary in 1896. Dadabhai Naoroji asked him on August 31, 1888 to induce Telang and Mehta to finance Digby's Agency in London. In another letter Dadabhai directed him to select an European as President of Congress.⁴² In Economics, Wacha was an apt disciple of Dadabhai Naoroji. His political views were the same as held by Pherozeshah Mehta. He was equally rude to all who dared to talk of making any sort of compromise with the Nationalists. Jayakar relates how for this offence he was turned out of his house when he went there on an invitation from Setalvad and Jinnah.⁴³

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) attended the Congress for the first time in 1889. He was then a young man of 23 and was selected to be one of the speakers on two resolutions—namely Reform of Legislative Council and Employment of Indians to Civil Service. Ranade had got him selected as the Editor of the Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha in 1887, when he was only 21 years of age. He was the youngest of the Congress Presidents in 1905 when he was only 39 years of age. He probably owed this honour to the unique success he achieved in 1904 when as a member of the Congress delegation he delivered 45 speeches in 50 days in England.⁴⁴ Surendranath Banerjea writes in his Memoirs that it was Ranade, who sent a telegram to him offering the Presidentship of the Congress. He further adds that in those days "the Reception Committee selected the President and their decision was acquiesced in without demur."⁴⁵

Mahadeva Govinda Ranade (1842-1901) was the Small Cause

Court Judge of Poona when the first session of the Congress was held in Bombay. But the meeting was more or less an informal gathering and Ranade did not hesitate even to make a speech in the Congress. As T. Allen Reid, President of the Phonetic Society of Great Britain was entrusted with the task of taking down shorthand notes during the first eight years of the Congress, we have got a verbatim report of what Ranade said in the Congress in 1885. Though Ranade could never be a formal delegate to the Congress, yet, in the words of Surendranath, "he was the power behind the throne, guiding, advising and encouraging the Congress leaders in their work". Even N. C. Kelkar, who belonged to the opposite camp writes: "Who does not know that Mr. Ranade was not only one of the founders of the National Congress but invariably used to avow his connection with it so far as an afternoon attendance at the assembly at the right hand of the President would show it".⁴⁶ Srinivas Shastri testifies to the influence of Ranade in the following words: "Precluded as he was from direct participation in the daily work of politics, his figure could always be seen in the intimate discussions of the Subjects Committee of the Congress. Every crisis he would interpose with his great authority and the Congressmen of those days, giants though they were, were proud to acknowledge that Mr. Ranade kept them straight on the road of progress".⁴⁷ Swami Shraddhanand too corroborates this with reference to the drafting of a resolution at the Lahore session in 1893, which was attended by Ranade, though he had been elevated to the Bench of the Bombay High Court shortly beforehand.⁴⁸

The song referred to at the beginning omits several important names like those of Ananda Charlu and Sankaran Nair of Madras and Chandavarkar of Maharashtra, all of whom had become Presidents of the Congress before 1904. Ananda Charlu was the first South Indian to adorn the Presidential office in 1891. He was persuaded by Ranade to accept the office of the Joint Secretary in the Congress session held in 1892. In course of a paper on the Congress contributed by him in 1903 he wrote that the office of Joint General Secretary was forced upon him, and that Ranade assured him that "within a year or two of it, he, Mr. Ranade meant to retire on pension and become virtually whole-timed Indian Secretary—a step he was prevented from taking much to the detriment of the Congress-

though for a wider benefit to himself and his country in other respects".⁴⁰ Ananda Charlu, however, was too busy a lawyer to be able to perform the duties of Joint Secretary for more than a year. He regretted that none of the top-ranking leaders of the Congress could devote their whole-hearted attention to the Congress work. As regards Chandavarkar it must be stated that he remained absent from the Congress consecutively for nearly a decade from 1890 to 1899 and was yet selected President in 1900.

It is rather strange that no person from Bengal was ever officially elected Secretary or Joint Secretary of the Congress up to the year 1917. But Janakinath Ghoshal, husband of Swarnakumari Devi and father of Sarala Devi, discharged practically many of the duties of the Secretary. At the Lahore Congress in 1893 Dadabhai Naoroji referred to him as "the indefatigable Secretary". The resolution for the election of the Secretary used to be moved by W. C. Bonnerjee, but as he was absent in 1893, Dadabhai Naoroji called upon Ghoshal to move it. Ghoshal said in his speech that he had been associated with Hume even before the birth of the Congress and found him arriving at the venue of the Congress several days before the meeting and departing last of all⁴¹. This shows that he was a collaborator with Hume in making arrangements for the Congress sessions. G. Parameshwaram Pillai corroborates this when he writes: "First to come, last to go, Mr. Ghosal is the pivot round which the Congress turns". According to him, Hume was the father of the Congress, Ghoshal was its mother; and Raghunath Rao and G. Subramania Iyer were the nurses that assisted at its birth. He further states: "Mr. Ghosal is the righthand man of the Congress President, who always sits to the President's left at the Congress. He is the President's encyclopaedia, his authority, his mainstay, his backbone, his adviser, his high priest, his plaything".⁴² In the Congress Reports we invariably find him reading out the rules of procedure for conducting the meeting. It was mainly his influence which stood in the way of adoption of a formal constitution for the Congress before 1899. He was of the opinion that rigid rules would fetter the healthy growth of the Congress and he cited the example of England which had no written constitution at all. His influence was so great that even when the Constitution was adopted in 1899 on a motion from the Chair, which was occupied that year by Romesh Chandra Dutta, many of its provisions

*were not given effect to. Ghoshal loved to display high social rank by constantly keeping at his heels a Moslem *chaprasi* with a flowing beard and attractive livery.‘

In conclusion, we may say that the task of the inner circle of the Congress was rather simple in those days. The drafting of a few resolutions, collecting a few thousands of rupees especially for the British Committee of the Congress and its organ *India* and leading a few deputations to the Government in India and more so to Britain were practically all that they had to do. It was not considered a part of their duty to mobilise public opinion before the Swadeshi agitation. Thoughtful persons felt the need of selecting an eminent person as the undisputed leader of the country. In 1904 Gokhale suggested Pherozeshah Mehta for leadership. Rabindranath Tagore suggested the name of Surendranath Banerjea in a lecture delivered at Baghbazar, Calcutta, in the spacious compound of Pasupatinath Basu on the 28th April, 1906.⁵⁹ He described Surendranath as the foremost of all those who are famous as leaders, as one whose head rose like the peak of sky-reaching mountain in the midst of clouds impregnated with thunders. He did not expect that everybody would agree to such a proposal, but he called upon those who did so to free him from his daily worries, so that he could maintain the dignity of the supreme leader of the country. It was in response to his call that a ceremony described as the coronation of Surendranath was held. But as it smacked of setting up a rival authority to that of Edward VII those who participated in the function tried to belittle its importance. Nevinson must have been giving their version when he wrote : “Surendranath was honoured by a common Indian ceremony of ‘benediction’ in a private house on September 5, 1906. It was an affair of an umbrella, a chaplet, garlands and the recitation of verses from the Vedas. An English correspondent described that as a solemn coronation of Mr. Banerjee.”⁶⁰ The fact was that neither the people were ready to obey the leader implicitly, nor was the leader prepared, whether in eastern or in western India to sacrifice everything for the sake of his people and the country. The Inner Circle of the Congress, wedded to the safe policy of constitutional movement, succeeded in keeping out of power the two Yogis—Sri Aurobindo and Lokmanya Tilak—who would have been ready to make any sacrifice for the motherland.

CHAPTER VII

INDOLOGISTS AND LITTERATEURS IN THE CONGRESS

The Annual Reports of the Indian National Congress before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi constitute a veritable storehouse of information on the history of modern India. From 1885 to 1917 it was the practice of the Secretariat of the Congress to append a list of all the delegates with their social status, occupation, degrees, titles and permanent address at the end of the Report. A careful scrutiny of these names running over a thousand for 9 years* and over 500 for 15 years each is not by any means an easy task but if these are properly arranged and classified they are likely to reveal highly useful data for the reconstruction of social, economic and cultural history of India. When the Congress became an organisation for galvanising the life of the masses under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi historians and litterateurs considered it prudent to keep themselves aloof from it for obvious reasons. But it was not their practice to do so in the pre-Gandhian era.

The first session of the Congress held in Bombay in 1885 was more or less an informal meeting. There was no rule or regulation regarding the procedure of the meeting or for the election of delegates. Government servants did not consider it a breach of their service rule in attending the Congress meeting. We find, therefore, several important Government servants like Ranade, Bhandarkar, Raghunath Rao and *Satyendra Nath Tagore attending it as visitors. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was an interested but silent spectator in this Congress. He did not attend any other session of the Indian National Congress. The proceedings of the first session of the Congress does not mention the name of Satyendra Nath Tagore, the first Indian I. C. S., as a visitor, but Nagendra Nath Gupta, in his *Reflections and Reminiscences* writes that he was present in it.¹

The precedent set up by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was followed by a number of distinguished Orientalists in subsequent years. In 1886

*In 1888-1248; 1889-1913; 1894-1163; 1895-1594; 1904-1010; 1906-1663; 1915-2259; 1916-2301 and 1917-4967.

Rajendra Lal Mitra welcomed the delegates as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. He had established his reputation as a great oriental scholar by that time. He had contributed as many as 114 original papers to the Journal of the Asiatic Society and had also published his famous book on the "Antiquity of Orissa" and other monumental works on Bodh Gaya and on the Indo-Aryans. In course of his welcome address he said that it had been the dream of his life that the scattered units of his race might some day reunite and that instead of living merely as individuals they might some day strive to live as a nation, and he beheld in the Congress the dawn of the better and happier day for India. With his great intellectual acumen he realised that the whole crux of Indian problem was in the reform of the legislature. He made a strong plea for the substitution of the system of nomination by a system of election. He boldly asserted: "We want election by those whom the elected are to represent. This is the primary object of agitation with regard to the Legislative Council. Let representatives be elected. We live not under a national Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy. Our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language and habits, by everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot possibly dive into our hearts. They can not ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations. They may try their best and I have no reason to doubt that many of our governors have tried hard to ascertain our feelings and our wants but owing to their big position they have failed to ascertain them. Therefore, all we want is to have a sufficient number of men to represent the people, each bearing his quota of knowledge of requirements of a particular section of the community."

He pleaded for a non-communal attitude in politics. With his knowledge of History and Politics he emphasised the fact that nations are not made of sects but of tribes bound together in one political bond. While many of the Congress leaders considered the appointment of a larger number of Indians to the Indian Civil Service as the most important item of political agitation, Rajendra Lal Mitra considered this question as of secondary importance. He made the shrewd remark that the demand for larger number of appointments in Public Services has a bad stamp on its face and anxiety on our part to get loaves and fishes, but still it is a very important

question, because without taking into account the monetary point of view the nation have a right to demand that they shall have the privilege of serving their own country.* At the time of the second session of the Indian National Congress Rajendra Lal Mitra was over 62 years of age but in his enthusiasm and vigour he surpassed many young men. He became short of hearing in his old age and breathed his last in 1891, i. e., five years after delivering his memorable speech in the Calcutta Congress.

Another great Indologist, who took a leading part in the foundation of the Congress was Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893). Dadabhai Naoroji, in his presidential speech at the Lahore Congress (1893) referred to Telang as the Secretary of the first Congress. Of course, the work of the General Secretary was carried on by Hume, though he was not formally elected as Secretary till 1888. Telang must have taken upon himself the work of the Secretary of the Reception Committee. It was he who made all arrangements for the venue of the meeting and accommodation of the delegates in Bombay. In the first session of the Congress he spoke on as many as five resolutions, namely (1) the election of the President (2) imposition of Customs Duties (3) enquiry into the condition of India (4) reform of the Legislative Council and (6) Vote of thanks. It is curious to note, however, that neither Telang nor Pherozeshah Mehta cared to attend the two subsequent sessions of the Congress held in Calcutta and Madras respectively. As these Congress sessions were held during the Christmas vacation, it cannot be said that they were busy with their professional work. It is difficult to ascertain now whether there was any difference of opinion regarding the venue of the Congress with Hume and W. C. Bonnerjee, but in 1888 both Telang and Mehta attended the session held at Allahabad. At this Congress too Telang delivered as many as five speeches on the reform of the legislature, educational expenses, Permanent Settlement, holding of simultaneous I.C.S. examination in England and India and the repeal of the Arms Act. It was he, who invited the Congress to hold its next session at Bombay, but he was appointed a High Court Judge soon after and therefore did not take any more active part in the Congress. Telang was a versatile scholar. On the one hand he was writing papers on the Chalukya copper plates, and Copper plates of Kadamba dynasty, on the other he wrote learned

articles on the date of the Ramayana, of Madhusudan Saraswati and Sankaracharya. His dissertation on the Gita is even now regarded as a standard work. He contributed many papers to the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Journal and to the Indian Antiquary. It is a pity that such a gifted scholar and patriot died at the early age of 43.

The association of the author of 'The Orion' and 'The Art of the Aryans' with the Indian National Congress is too well known to require any recapitulation. Besides these two original books Tilak contributed a highly important paper on "A Missing Verse in the Sankhya-Karika" to the *Sanskrit Research* in October, 1915. His treatise on the Bhagavadgita with an elaborate introduction has been accepted as a masterly work by the scholarly world. The world would have been deprived of these works had he not been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. This proves that good cometh out of evil. Tilak did not attend the first four sessions of the Congress but he was rather regular in attendance ever afterwards barring of course the period of his imprisonment. Thus we find him participating in the deliberations of the Congress in 1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1896, 1900, 1901, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1916 and 1917. It is an irony of fate that such a great scholar and statesman was never elected the President of the Indian National Congress. Amongst the well-known Orientalists, Ramesh Chandra Dutt was the only one to have this honour. He was a brilliant member of the Indian Civil Service and he became the Commissioner of Orissa in 1894. He retired in 1897 and was elected President of the Congress in 1899. At the Banaras session of the Congress in 1905 we find him delivering speeches on the question of election of President and on the administration of justice in India.

Some other Orientalists and historians also took interest in the Indian National Congress. Dr. Ram Das Sen, a great authority on ancient Indian literature on jewels, attended the Congress in 1886. Akshoy Kumar Maitra who inspired certain wealthy Zamindars and learned men to found the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi, was one of those who got himself elected as a delegate (No. 43) at the Lucknow Congress in 1899. He also attended the Allahabad session of the Congress as a delegate in 1910. We find K. P. Jayaswal, then residing at 70, Amherst Street, Calcutta, attending the Congress session

in Calcutta in 1911. He was not allowed by the Govt. of Bengal to work as Lecturer of the Calcutta University Law College because of his political connections. Amongst the living historians we find Dr. Tarachand (Delegate No. 135) and H. K. Sherwani (Delegate No. 120) attending the Congress session in 1916. Sir Jadunath Sarkar could not attend any session of the Congress as he was a Government servant. His father, Rajkumar Sarkar attended the Congress as delegate (No. 144) in 1886.

A large number of literary men occasionally took interest in attending the Congress as delegates. Amongst them we may mention the name of Gopalganesh Agarkar. He was an associate of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. He was a foundation member of the Congress. The first report of the Congress describes him as the Editor of the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari*. He holds a high place in the history of modern Mahratta literature. He, however, did not attend any subsequent session of the Congress. Recently the birth centenaries of Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal and Ramananda Chatterjee have been celebrated, but their work as Congressmen has not been properly assessed. In 1892 Brajendra Nath Seal was elected a delegate to the Allahabad session of the Congress. He was then the Principal of the Krishnath College, Berhampur. He delivered a long speech on the State grant for higher education. He held up the model of the State of Baroda and Mysore in educational policy. He deplored that in Bengal as many as three colleges had been deprived of their status as Government institutions. He also pointed out that superseding the claims of many deserving Indians two Europeans belonging to the Subordinate Education service, were appointed Principals of Government Colleges at Krishnagar and Rajshahi. Ramananda Chatterjee took the trouble of going to far off Madras in 1898 as a delegate of the Congress, most probably because Ananda Mohan Bose, the leader of the Brahmo community was President of the Congress that year. He was then the Principal of the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad. He held such an eminent position in the public life of Allahabad that he was selected as the spokesman of that province to invite the next session of the Congress to the United Provinces. We find him participating in the deliberations of the Congress at its Banaras session in 1905. It is interesting to note that in 1904 C. Y. Chintamani said at the Bombay session of the

Congress—"In Allahabad a gentleman of the ability and experience of Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, an educational expert who has done more valuable service to the cause of education in the United Provinces than almost any other Indian gentleman that I know of, has been removed from the Senate to make room for a lawyer who lays claim to no qualifications such as he possesses."⁸

Another great educationist, who was regular in attendance in the Congress for a number of years, was Heramba Chandra Maitra, a prominent Brahmo leader. From 1886 to 1917, we find him attending the Congress sessions. He delivered speeches on State grants for higher education in 1891, 1892, 1895 and 1905. He was a member of the All India Congress Committee in 1911 and 1917. H. C. Maitra was an authority on Emerson.

Two litterateurs, who rose to be High Court Judges, also took suitable interest in the affairs of the Congress in its early days. In 1886 Gurudas Banerjee not only attended the Congress but also spoke on the Indianisation of Public Services with special reference to the Judiciary. He was then a Vakil of the High Court of Calcutta and also the Municipal Commissioner of that city. He became High Court Judge in 1889 and also the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Sarada Charan Mitra, a pioneer for the revival of Vaisnava lyrics and author of several important Bengali books as well as the Land Laws of Bengal, was a member of the Subjects Committee of the Congress in 1896 and a delegate in 1901. He became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1903. Amongst other Bengali litterateurs we find Kali Prasanna Kavyavisharada taking a prominent part in moving and seconding resolutions relating to various important subjects like the reform of the Legislative Council (1897), separation of judiciary from executive (1901-1902), reform of public administration (1905) and constitution of the Congress (1906). He died in 1907. He was a forceful writer and critic. Panchkari Banerjee, another eminent journalist and sociologist, spoke against internment of political workers and the excessive power vested in the hands of the executive, in the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1917. Aswini Kumar Dutta, the famous author of the Bhakti Yoga was a delegate in 1886 and speaker on the reform of Legislative Council at the Madras session in 1887. He produced in the Congress a petition signed by 45000 persons praying to the House of Commons for introducing the reforms in India.

In 1898 he proposed a Constitution for the Congress. In 1911 we find him a member of the All India Congress Committee. Hirendra Nath Datta, a great Philosopher and Theosophist, spoke on the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in the Congress session in 1897. He delivered an inspiring speech on national education in the Calcutta Congress of 1906. The great poet and composer Atul Prasad Sen was a barrister-at-law in Lucknow. He delivered an important speech on the Arms Act in the Congress session in 1914. He was a member of the All India Congress Committee in 1910 and 1911. Jaladhar Sen, the famous novelist and the editor of the *Bharatavarsha* attended the Calcutta Congress as a delegate (No. 317) in 1886. Purnendu Narayan Sinha, a prominent lawyer and litterateur of Patna was also a delegate in 1886. He spoke on the reform of Police and Judicial administration at the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1891. Brahma Bandhava Upadhyay, the great editor of *Sandhya* was a delegate of the Congress (No. 116) in 1906. Vijay Chandra Majumdar, the poet and Philologist was a delegate to the Congress (No. 20) in 1901.

The part played by famous literary men like Ranade, Sachchidananda Sinha, Sarojini Naidu and Bipin Chandra Pal in the affairs of Congress is well-known. But the role played by the famous Tagore family of Calcutta in the Congress has been forgotten even by the warmest admirers of Rabindranath Tagore. His father Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore made a handsome donation for the second session of the Congress. This has been testified too by Hume himself. Hume further states that early in September, 1886 the Reception Committee was formed in Calcutta under the Presidentship of Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore, who also made a suitable contribution to the funds of the Congress. But curiously enough we find Rajendra Lal Mitra as the Chairman of the Reception Committee in the Calcutta Congress. Jatindra Mohan Tagore was exceptionally eager to be in the good books of the Government and possibly for this reason he backed out later on. Rabindranath's elder brother Jyotirindranath Tagore was an enthusiastic supporter of the Congress in its early years. In 1887 he went to join the Madras Congress and moved that the resolutions of the Congress should be sent to the Viceroy. In 1895 we find him attending the Poona session of the Congress and inviting it to Calcutta for the next year. Satyendra Nath Tagore, the eldest brother of the poet was a delegate of the Congress in 1905, 1906 and

1911. Congress reports of these years mention as his address 19, Store Road, Ballyganj. In 1901 the great poet got himself elected as a delegate of the Congress (No. 45). In the same year the great artists Abanindra Nath Tagore and Gaganendra Nath Tagore became also delegates of the Congress along with Satyendra Nath Tagore and Sudhindra Nath Tagore. There were probably two reasons for the interest taken by the Tagore family in the Congress of that year. The first was that Janakinath Ghoshal, the husband of Maharshi Devendra Nath's daughter, Swarnakumari Devi was the leading organiser of the Congress for a number of years and secondly, in 1901 his daughter Sarala Devi, who took a leading part in organising Physical Culture Society in Bengal composed two soul-stirring songs in Bengali and led the orchestra herself. The burden of the song was,—

“Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, Oudh, Punjab, Nepal, Madras, Bombay
and Rajputana
Hindu, Parsi, Jain, Sikh, Christian and Musalman
Let every voice in concord ring
In every tongue the burden sing
All hail to Hindustan.”

This song may be regarded as the precursor to Tagore's poem which has now become the national anthem of India. The poet recited in the Calcutta Congress of 1917 two poems in English specially composed for the occasion.

The first song begins with the words :—

“Thou hast given us to live
Let us uphold this honour with all our strength and will”.

The second song begins with the words :—

“Our voyage is begun, Captain
We bow to Thee !”

Congress and the National Anthem

Rabindranath Tagore, according to his biographer, Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyaya, sang the *Bande Mataram* song at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1896. The Official Report of the Congress for that year and its London organ, *India* do not mention this fact at all. Rabindranath has been referred to in the Congress Report for 1889 as ‘Bengal's most thoughtful poet,’^a and the silence of the Report for 1896 over his singing is surprising indeed.

In the report of the Ahmedabad session of the Congress, 1902, we find a song in Gujarati language under the caption 'National Congress Anthem' with its English version. The name of the composer of the song is not mentioned, but if we compare it with the song sung at the Hindu Mela in Calcutta on the *Chaitra Sankranti* day of the Bengali year 1274, corresponding to 13th April, 1868, we will find that it is nothing but a modified version of the Bengali song, composed by Satyendra Nath Tagore who joined the Indian Civil Service in 1864. The Congress Report merely states that the proceedings commenced on the 23rd December, 1902 at 1-30 p. m. with the following Congress Anthem which was sung by Mrs. Ramanibhai Mahipatram, B.A., and Mrs. Sumant Batukram, B.A., assisted by some of their lady friends.⁶ We first of all give the Gujarati song, then the corresponding stanzas of the Bengali song.

भारत भूमिनुं जय कीर्त्तन

(राग खमाच)

मली सर्व भारत संतान, एक तानमनप्राण,
गावो भारतनां यशोगान;
भारत भूमि तुल्य नहि कोई स्थान,
नहि अद्रि हिमाद्रि समान;
फलवती वसुमती, स्रोतस्वती पुण्यवती,
शतखंड रत्ननुं निधान;

Chorus

गाओ भारतनो जय
जय भारतनो जय
गाओ भारतनो जय
कुं भय ? कुं भय ?
गाओ भारतनो जय,
वीर यानि आ भूमि वीरनी जननी
व्यापी रही अशारजनी;
सुगभीर ए तिमिर कदि नहि रहे चिर,
देखा देशे दीप्त दिनमणि ।

Chorus

रागभूमि, कर्णाटक, कुर्ग, मध्यप्रांत,
मालव, सिन्ध, पंचनदीधाम;
बंग, मद्र, गुजराष्ट्र, महाराष्ट्र, सौराष्ट्र,
ब्रह्मदेश, ने राजपुत्र स्थान ।

Chorus

हिन्दु, जैन, सिख, बौध, ख्रिस्ति, मुसलमान,
पारसीक, याहुदी, ने ब्राह्म,
भारतना सह पुत्र, यई परस्पर मित्र,
बारी चित गणना समान

Chorus

हिन्दभूमि दुःख डूबी, दारिद्र्य विस्तार,
संपत्तीं करी बारवार;
उठी उठी रे उत्साहे, मागी मागी प्रभु साहे,
धरी हस्त करो रे उद्धार ।

Chorus

केम डरो भीरु, करो साहस आश्रय,
“यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः”
छिन्न भिन्न हीनबल ऐक्य श्री पामशुं बल,
मातामुख उज्ज्वल कर्पेयी शुं भय ?

The Bengali Song;

मिले सबे भारत सन्तान,
एकतान मन प्राण,
गाओ भारतेर यशोगान ॥
भारत भूमिर तुल्य आछे कोन स्थान ?
कोन अद्रि हिमाद्रि समान ?
फलवती बसुमती, श्रोतस्वती पुन्यवती,
शत खनि रत्नेर निधान ॥
होक भारतेर जय,
जय भारतेर जय,
गाओ भारतेर जय,

कि भय कि भय,
 गान्धो भारतेर जय ॥
 बीर-योनि आई भूमि बीरेर जननी;
 अधीनता अनिल रजनी,
 सुगभीर से तिमिर, व्यापिया कि रवे चिर,
 देखा दिबे दीप्त दिनमणि ॥
 केन डर, भीरु, कर साहस आश्रय,
 यतो धर्म स्ततो जय ॥
 छिन्न भिन्ने हीन बल, ऐक्येते पाईबे बल,
 मायेर मुख उज्ज्वल करिते कि भय ?

The Bengali poem contained several stanzas singing the glory of Sita, Savitri, Vasishta, Gautama, Vyasa, Valmiki, Bhishma, Drona and Yudhisthira and other ancient heroes and heroines of India. These were substituted by two stanzas on the provinces and sects of India.

National Congress Anthem (English translation)

Ye sons of noble India !
 With heart and soul unite,
 And sing aloud her praises
 Extol her boundless might.
 There is no land like India,
 No mount like hers so high,
 For none but great Himadri
 Can touch the lofty sky.
 O Holy land of Ganga !
 Thy fields are ever green.
 With priceless jewels resplendent
 Thou rul'st the world O Queen,

Chorus

We hail thee dear old India !
 We hail thee, fatherland !
 And singing forth thy praises.
 We all united stand
 O Land of mighty heroes !
 O mother of mighty men !

The darksome night that clouds thee
Shall turn to light again ;
For this O'r world is fleeting,
No darkness long can stay ;
Look up ! the shining 'Surya',
Proclaims the dawn of day.

Chorus

O Land of righteous Rama,
Karnatak ! Coorga ! Sindh !
O Land of five great rivers !
O Malwa ! heart of Hind !
O Land of Central India !
Bengal and Burma fair !
O glorious Land of Goorjars !
With whom shall I compare ?
Madras ! Ma (ha) rastra ! Sorath !
And Rajputana great !
Ye all have done your duty,
In lifting national weight.

Chorus

Ye Hindu ! Jain ! and Moslem !
Ye Parsi ! Jew ! Buddhist
Ye Christian ! Sikh ! and Brahmo !
Ye children of the East !
Stretch forth your arms in friendship
And greet your countrymen,
For 'tis the blood of India
That runs through every vein.

Chorus

But lo ! our dear old India
How sunken is her state !
Her children die by thousands
O what a horrible fate !
Be up ! Ye sons of India !
And pray for help to God !

Perform your yearly *yatra*
To National Synod.
And purified by Congress,
Keep up your spirits high,
And save our dear old India,
And raise a joyous cry !

Chorus

Arise ! Ye Sons of India !
Be just and fear naught,
Stand up and serve your country
And glorious is your lot—
For so proclaim the 'shastras'
'Where Duty is the goal,
There victory must follow
To crown the glorious soul.'
But if we are divided,
There surely lies our fall,
In union lies our safety
As known to each and all,
Then up ! United India !
And make your country bright,
In doing one's own duty
There sha'n't be fear or fright.

Satyendranath Tagore must have added the stanzas mentioning the names of different parts of India and those of different sects specially for the purpose of promoting the unity of India. The same song was sung in the Bombay session of the Congress in 1904.* This goes to prove that the Bombay Presidency virtually adopted this song as the National Anthem. Satyendranath Tagore had served the province with utmost zeal and devotion and Bombay showed its gratitude by adopting his composition as the National Congress Anthem. The Swadeshi agitation, however, brought Bankimchandra's *Bande Mataram* to the forefront and this was sung at the Benares Congress in 1905. It became customary, thereafter, to begin the proceedings of the Congress with the *Bande Mataram*. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1911 the *Bande Mataram* was sung on the first day and Rabindranath's newly composed *Janaganamana*

Adhinayaka was sung on the second day, the 27th December. The poet appears to have been indebted to his elder brother for the names of different parts of India. * While Satyendranath's poem mentions Karnatak, Coorg, Madhya Pradesh, Malwa, Sind, Punjab, Bengal, Madras, Gujarat, Maharastra, Saurashtra, Burma and Rajputana, Rabindranath's poem refers to the Punjab, Sind, Gujrat, Maratha, Dravida, Orissa, and Bengal only. Satyendranath's reference to the different religious sects also finds an echo in Rabindranath's famous poem, 'Bharat-tirtha', where he says :

Come Aryan, non-Aryan, Hindu, Mussalman, come.

Come ye Parsees, O Christians come ye one and all.

This poem was composed on July 2, 1910,¹⁰ and therefore, it can not be said that the elder brother was indebted to his more gifted younger brother.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONGRESS

The most coveted position in public life in India was the Presidency of the Indian National Congress. The leaders of the inner circle of the Congress were eager to prove before the world, and especially before the authorities in India and Great Britain that the Congress represented all sections of the community and all the Provinces of India. They selected the President with a view to demonstrating this fact. During the first four years of the existence of the Congress efforts were made to give representation to the different religious communities. The first President happened to be a Hindu* the second a Zoroastrian, the third a Moslem and the fourth a Christian. In 1889 while proposing Wedderburn as the President, W.C. Bonnerjee said that after George Yule "the next President ought, according to the process which we followed, to have been a gentleman belonging to the Eurasian community." But as Mr. D. S. White, President of the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association fell ill, the choice fell on Wedderburn, a retired I. C. S.

During the period of thirtythree years (1885-1917) 27 persons were selected to preside over the 32 sessions of the Congress. Of these 16 were Hindus, 3 each belonged to the Parsi and the Moslem communities and 5 to the European Christian community. No Indian Christian was ever elected President. The name of Kali Charan Banerjee, an eminent scholar and a brilliant orator was proposed for the Ahmedabad session in 1902, but the Bombay Congressmen, led by Pherozeshah Mehta preferred to give the honour for the second time to Surendranath Banerjee. Two other persons, namely, W.C. Bonnerjee and Dadabhai Naoroji, had been elected for the second time. It is rather a curious fact that in each of these three cases the honour of being elected President for the second time came exactly after a period of seven years. Dadabhai Naoroji had the unique distinction of becoming President for three times. His

* W. C. Bonnerjee never became a convert to Christianity, though his wife Hemangini Devi embraced that faith after about 1875 (Life of W. C. Bonnerjee by Sadhana Bonnerjee, p. 99).

second Presidentship was an acknowledgment of the great service he rendered to our country in being elected to the House of Commons. His selection as President of the Calcutta Congress in 1906 was, as has already been pointed out, just a measure to foil the attempts of Bepin Chandra Pal to make Lokmanya Tilak the head of the Congress. The fourth person to have the honour of presiding over the Congress for the second time was Sir William Wedderburn. In 1889 he succeeded George Yule as President, and the fact is referred to by Alfred Webb in his Presidential address in 1894 when he said : "Having already placed in the Chair two Scotchmen, you have now chosen an Irishman". The Congress was passing through a great crisis in 1910, when it was considered necessary to have a strong President like Wedderburn at the helm of Congress affairs. He was held in the highest esteem in the Congress circle. Sir Henry Cotton was the first citizen of England to preside over the Indian National Congress. Mrs. Annie Besant, the President of the Congress in 1917, made India her home, while Yule, Wedderburn and Cotton came from the United Kingdom to preside over the Congress sessions and returned there soon after the meeting. Mrs. Besant lived in India continuously till her death in 1933.

Calcutta appears to have had a peculiar fascination for Presidents from Bombay and especially from the Parsi community. All the the three Parsi gentlemen, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and D. E. Wacha, who adorned the Presidential Chair presided over the Calcutta sessions. Between 1885 and 1910 the Congress met five times in Calcutta and none but a citizen of Bombay presided over all these sessions. The old Province of Bombay paid a compliment to Bengal by electing W. C. Bonnerjee in 1885, Surendranath Banerjea in 1895 and 1902, Rash Behari Ghosh in 1907 and Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (later on famous as Lord Sinha) in 1915. Bombay Presidency did not have any President from any other Province, excepting Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras, who presided over the Karachi session in 1913. She selected two Europeans, Wedderburn in 1889 and Cotton in 1904 as President.

While Bengal and Bombay were selected as the venue of the Congress for seven times each, Madras had that honour for six times. Of the six Congress Presidents at the Madras sessions, one was Tyabji, a Moslem gentleman from Bombay—one an Irishman

(Webb) and as many as four were Bengalis—Ananda Mohan Bose (1898), Lal Mohan Ghosh (1903), Rash Behari Ghosh (1908), and Bhupendra Nath Basu (1914).

The Congress met in the Uttar Pradesh six times, at Allahabad in 1888, 1892 and 1910, at Banaras in 1905 and at Lucknow in 1899 and 1916. Two Europeans and one Bengali presided over the Allahabad sessions and Lucknow selected R. C. Dutt and Ambica Charan Mazumdar as Presidents. Of the six Presidents in the U. P., two were retired I. C. S. Out of 32 sessions of the Congress six sessions—in 1889, 1895, 1899, 1902, 1904 and 1910—were presided over by former members of the Indian Civil Service.

The Congress met at Lahore only three times—in 1893, 1900 and 1909. The first two of these sessions were presided over by two citizens of Bombay and the third by a resident of the Uttar Pradesh. The Central Provinces and Berar had two sessions—one at Nagpur and another at Amraoti; these were presided over by two gentlemen from Madras, P. Ananda Charlu and C. Sankaran Nair. Bihar held one session only and it was presided over by R. N. Mudholkar of Amraoti.

As has been pointed out already during the period of 33 years, 32 sessions of the Congress were held. Of these 11 sessions had 9 Bengali Presidents, namely W. C. Bonnerjee twice, Surendranath Banerjea twice, and Ananda Mohan Bose, R. C. Dutt, Lalmohan Ghosh, Rash Behari Ghosh, Bhupendra Nath Basu, S. P. Sinha and Ambica Charan Mazumdar one time each. If the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, U. P., Punjab, C. P. and Berar, Bihar and Orissa, had been given equal share in the honour of providing President for the Congress, there would have been greater solidarity. But as a matter of fact no leader from the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa was chosen during the period under review. Three Marathi gentlemen, Chandavarkar from Bombay, Gokhale from Poona and Mudholkar from Amraoti, two Madrasis, namely P. Ananda Charlu and C. Sankaran Nair and 2 leaders from Uttar Pradesh, namely Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Bishan Narayana Dar were selected for the honour.

There was no prescribed rule or set procedure for the election of the President before 1899. Men like Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee and Dadabhai Naoroji appear to have had the predominant voice in

selecting the President in the early days of the Congress. From the Presidential Chair W. C. Bonnerjee said in 1892 : "When it was time to select a President for recommendation to the Congress of 1888, it was suggested to me, I being then in England, that I might ascertain the views of Mr. George Yule and ask him to preside. I accordingly saw him at his office in the city, and had the same kind of conversation with him as I had the year before with Pandit Ajudhianath". This is a clear indication of the fact that the selection of the President lay in the hands of a few outstanding personalities in the Congress circle. The Congress Constitution for the first time laid down in 1899 that the nomination of the President was vested in the Indian Congress Committee, consisting of 45 members. But as the Committee never met during the interval between the two sessions of the Congress, the power of selection was really exercised by a few important members of the Reception Committee in consultation with a few top-ranking leaders of the Congress. When the Reception Committee at Ahmedabad selected Surendranath Banerjee as President in 1902 the *Hindu*, the *Madras Standard* and the *Kayastha Samachar* (which later on became known as the *Hindusthan Review*) expressed grave dissatisfaction. The latter quoted the following observations of the *Madras Standard* : "The Ahmedabad Congress Committee should have reverted to the old excellent practice of the Congress Committees at the different Provincial capitals being consulted in the matter". These papers further commented that the conduct of the Bombay leaders in getting the Ahmedabad Committee to make the announcement about Mr. Banerjee's re-election, without consulting the public opinion at large, "is a step of a character which if persisted in, will end in the collapse of the Congress movement".¹ Similar high-handedness was manifested by the Reception Committee of Lucknow in 1916, when it refused to accept the verdict of the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees in favour of the election of Ambica Charan Mazumdar as President. The matter was referred to the All India Congress Committee which finally selected Mazumdar. ^{1(a)}

The Moderate leaders used to take all possible steps to shut out the Nationalists from Presidentship in the pre-Surat Congress days. We have already shown that in 1897 W. C. Bonnerjee promised at Amraoti that he would see that Khaparde, the Chairman of the

Reception Committee of that year became the President of the Congress in a year or two.¹ Pherozechah Mehta was the Chairman of the Reception Committee in 1889 and next year he became the President. This precedent was followed later on in four other cases, namely in those of Nawab Syed Mohamed, Rash Behari Ghosh, Bhupendranath Basu and Mazharul Haque. But there were as many as 26 cases in which the Chairman of the Reception Committee did not become President. The following table illustrates this point :

Year and Session	Chairman of the Reception Committee	Whether he became President of the Congress
1885
1886 Calcutta	Dr. Rajendralal Mitra	..
1887 Madras	Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao	..
1888 Allahabad	Pandit Ayodhyanath	..
1889 Bombay	Pherozechah Mehta	1890
1890 Calcutta	Manomohan Ghosh	..
1891 Nagpur	C. Narayanaswami Naidu	..
1892 Allahabad	Pandit Bishambhar Nath	..
1893 Lahore	Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia	..
1894 Madras	P. Rangiah Naidu	..
1895 Poona	V. M. Bhide	..
1896 Calcutta	Sir Ramesh Chunder Mitter	..
1897 Amraoti	G. S. Khaparde	..
1898 Madras	N. Subba Rao Pantulu	..
1899 Lucknow	Bansi Lal Singh	..
1900 Lahore	Kali Prasanna Roy	..
1901 Calcutta	Maharaja Bahadur Jagadindra Nath Roy of Natore	..
1902 Ahmedabad	Ambalal Sakarlal Desai	..
1903 Madras	Nawab Syed Mohamed	1913
1904 Bombay	Sir Pherozechah Mehta	1890 (was also elected in 1909 but resigned one week before the session).
1905 Banaras	Munshi Madho Lal	..
1906 Calcutta	Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh	1907 and 1908
1907 Surat	Tribhuvandas N. Malvi	..
1908 Madras	K. Krishnaswami Rao	..
1909 Lahore	Harkishen Lal	..
1910 Allahabad	Dr. Sir Sunder Lal	..
1911 Calcutta	Bhupendranath Basu	1914
1912 Patna	Mazharul Haque	..
1913 Karachi	Harchandra Vishindas	..

1914 Madras	Dr. Sir S. Subramaniya Iyer	...
1915 Bombay	Sir D. E. Wacha	1901
1916 Lucknow	Pandit Jagat Narain	...
1917 Calcutta	Baikuntha Nath Sen	...

The most notable person who was not selected as President was Lokmanya Tilak. "If his violence had not frightened the Moderates" writes Sir Francis Younghusband, "he might have been its President."¹ We can not but mention in this connection the name of Mr. Hume, who appears to have passed a self-denying ordinance against himself. Had he shown the least inclination he could have become the President of the Congress even after his retirement from the field of active politics. Hume continued to hold the post of the Secretary of the Congress even up to 1906, though he did not come back to India after 1894.

Amongst the other Secretaries or Joint Secretaries of the Congress, Pandit Ayodhyanath, D. A. Khare, N. Subha Rao Pantulu, were not selected as President, nor was any of the three Secretaries selected in 1917, Kesava Pillai, C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and Bhurgri ever chosen as President. P. Ananda Charlu said in his Presidential address in 1891 that the Presidential Chair "has narrowly missed a far higher honour than I can do to it, owing to two unforeseen occurrences is, that the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath is unfortunately, for both you and me, not a Madrasedee. Were it not that he generously abdicated the dignity in favour of Madras, I should gladly have avoided the danger of accepting a situation that would draw me into comparison with the unselfish whole-hearted intrepid and outspoken apostle of this great national movement." Had he not breathed his last in 1892 he would certainly have adorned the Presidential Chair. P. Ananda Charlu, D. E. Wacha, Gokhale and Nawab Syed Mohamed rose from Secretary or Joint Secretary to President. The last three leaders quietly took up the post of Secretary after relinquishing the office of the President. Ramsay Macdonald promised to preside over the Calcutta session in 1911 but the death of his wife prevented him from fulfilling the engagement.^{2(a)}

Amongst the twenty-seven Presidents, the only person who was below forty years of age at the time of his election was Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Six persons, W. C. Bonnerjee, Tyabji, Mehta, C. Sankaran Nair, Chandavarkar and Nawab Syed Mahomed were

between 40 and 45 when they became President. Five, namely Charlu, Sayani, Surendranath Banerjea, Malaviya and Dar were between 46 and 50 when they were called upon to preside. To the age group 51 and 55 belonged Wedderburn, Ananda Mohan Bose, R. C. Dutt, Lal Mohan Ghosh, Mudholkar, Bhupendranath Basu and S. P. Sinha and to the age group 56-60 belonged Wacha and Cotton. Only four of the twenty-seven Presidents were above sixty years of age. Of these, Naoroji, Rash Behari Ghosh and Ambica Charan Mazumdar were between 60 and 65 and Mrs. Annie Besant was seventy years old. The details regarding the actual age at which these personages became President will be found in the following table :

Year	Venue	Name	Age at the time of Presidentship	Life-span	Length of the speech CPA (in page)
1885 1892	Bombay Allahabad	W. C. Bonnerjee	41, 48	62 years	4, 18
1886 1893 1906	Calcutta Lahore Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji	61, 68, 81	92 "	18, 28, 38
1887	Madras	Badruddin Tyabji	43	62 "	11
1888	Allahabad	George Yule			19
1889 1910	Bombay Allahabad	Sir William Wedderburn	51, 72	80 "	13, 18
1890	Calcutta	P. M. Mehta	45	70 "	23
1891	Nagpur	P. Ananda Charlu	48	65 "	18
1894	Madras	Alfred Webb			45
1895 1902 1896	Poona Ahmedabad Calcutta	Surendranath Banerjea Rahamatullah Sayani C. Sankaran Nair	47, 54 49 40	77 " 55 " 77 "	89, 103 68 25

Year	Venue	Name	Age at the time of Presidentialship	Life-span	Length of the speech CPA (in pages)
1898	Madras	Ananda Mohan Bose	51	59 years	60
1899	Lucknow	R. C. Dutt	51	61 „	40
1900	Lahore	N. G. Chanda- varkar	45	68 „	28
1901	Calcutta	D. E. Wacha	57	92 „	97
1903	Madras	Lal Mohan Ghosh	54	60 „	46
1904	Bombay	Sir Henry Cotton	59	70 „	29
1905	Banaras	G. K. Gokhale	39	49 „	38
1907	Surat	Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh	62, 63	76 „	39, 19
1908	Madras				
1909	Lahore	Madan Mohan Malaviya	48	85 „	70
1911	Calcutta	Bishan Narayan Dar	47	52 „	56
1912	Patna	R. N. Mudholkar	55	64 „	54
1913	Karachi	Nawab Syed Mahomed	44	47 „	40
1914	Madras	Bhupendra Nath Basu	55	65 „	40
1915	Bombay	(Sir) S. P. Sinha	51	64 „	34
1916	Lucknow	Ambica Charan Mazumdar	65	71 „	69
1917	Calcutta	Mrs Annie Besant	70	86 „	

All the Presidents excepting Nawab Syed Mahomed and Gopal Krishna Gokhale lived beyond the age of 50. Only three others, Sayani, Ananda Mohan Bose and Bishan Narayan Dar died before their sixtieth year. Eleven of them lived beyond seventy, of whom two, Dadabhai Naoroji and D. E. Wacha died at the age of 92. Three others lived beyond 80. Compared to some litterateurs and social

workers of the last century the Congress Presidents had, as a rule, a fairly long life*.

The Presidential addresses during the first seven years covered less than twenty-five pages and could be delivered in an hour or so. But in subsequent years no address excepting the Madras address of Rash Behari Ghosh was limited to this reasonable length. Surendra Nath Banerjea delivered an oration covering in print 103 pages at Ahmedabad and 89 pages at Poona. He was a superb orator and had no need of looking at the written speech at the time of delivering it. But the subject matter of both the speeches could have been written in much shorter space. No Indian politician in the last century ever cared to subscribe to the adage that brevity is the soul of wit. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha produced a thesis in the garb of a Presidential address which covered 97 pages, and dealt with controversial subjects like respective merits of Irrigation and Railways and the causes of famine and its remedy. Other inordinately lengthy speeches were those delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Rahamatullah Sayani and Ambica Charan Mazumdar. Sayani's speech dealt mainly with the fundamental principles of Islam and the attitude of Moslems towards the Congress. It is historically important no doubt, but it is difficult to ascertain how far it was appreciated by the audience present at the Calcutta Congress.

The briefest speech was the first Presidential address delivered by W. C. Bonnerjee in 1885. It was written in indirect form and looked

*The following 31 famous persons died before they attained their fiftieth year : Agarkar, G. G. (1856-95); Apte, V. S. (1858-92); Chariar, Veer Raghava (1857-1906); Chiplunkar, V. K. (1850-82); Datta, Madhusudan (1824-73); Deuskar, Sakhamam (1869-1912); Ganguly, Tarakanath (1843-91); Ghosh, Girish Chandra (1829-61); Gokuldas Tejpal (1822-68); Gupta, Iswar Chandra (1812-59); Jambhekar Bal Gangadhar Shastri (1812-46); Kaji Prasanna Kavyavisharad (1861-1907); Karsandas Mulji (1832-74); Kelkar, V. B. (1860-95); Mitra, Dinabandhu (1829 or 1831-1873); Mitra, Dwarkanath (1833-74); Mudaliar, Rangananda (1847-93); Mudaliar Salem R. (1852-92); Mukherjee, Harihar Chandra (1824-61); Namjoshi, M.B. (1853-96); Pal, Kristodas (1838-84); Sen, Keshab Chandra (1838-84); Sen, Rajani Kanta (1865-1910); Sen, Ramdas (1845-87); Sinha, Kaliprasanna (1840-70); Tagore, Balendra Nath (1870-99); Telang, K. T. (1850-93); Upadhyaya, Brahma Bandhava (1861-1907); Vishnu Bawa Brahmachari (1825-71); Vishnu Shastri Pandit (1827-76); Vivekananda Swami (1863-1902).

like a newspaper report. Bonnerjee explained the aims and objects of the Congress and these were quoted *in extenso* in 1894 by Alfred Webb in his Presidential address and partly by Sayani in 1896. Bonnerjee emphasised in it the necessity of eliciting the considered opinion on "some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day"⁴, but strangely enough in his second Presidential address in 1892 he said : "I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussion of social matters ; these are things which, I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organisation to do what they can for its improvement." He further added : "I may state that when we met in Bombay for the first time, the matter was discussed threadbare with the help of such distinguished social reformers as Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao of Madras, Mr. Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and Mr. Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar of Poona, Mr. Narendra Nath Sen and Mr. Janaki Nath Ghosal of Calcutta and others. The whole subject was considered from every point of view, and we at last came to the conclusion with the full consent and concurrence of these distinguished men that it would not do for the Congress to meddle itself, as a Congress, with questions of social reform."⁵

Almost all the Presidents expressed the loyalty of the Congress and of Indians in general in course of their Presidential address. We must not lose sight of the fact that this was the only way of carrying on constitutional agitation in those days. Despite their profession of loyalty⁶ the Congress was charged with disloyalty by the Bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian Press. A book was published in 1888 from the "Pioneer" Press under the caption, *Seditious character of the Indian National Congress*.

In 1917 the Congress was practically captured by the Nationalists; yet Mrs Annie Besant moved from the Chair a Resolution expressing loyalty to the throne and determination to help the Empire. In 1915 Sir S. P. Sinha in his Presidential address expressed loyalty in terms which may be characterised as idolatry. He said, "My first duty today is again to lay at the feet of our august and beloved Sovereign, our unswerving fealty, our unshaken allegiance, and our enthusiastic homage." But at the same time he reiterated the view that political ideal of India was self-government. He further explained that the only satisfactory form of self-government to which

India aspires can not be anything short of what President Lincoln so pithily described as 'government of the people, for the people and by the people'. He also reminded the audience as well as the British people that "good government cannot be a substitute for self-government". But he advised the people of India to wait for the realisation of the ideal of self-government till their mental, moral and material condition render them worthy of self-government. This might mean waiting for a long time, but, according to him, the alternative suggested by some Extremists of wresting power from the British authorities was not a practicable one. This was the common argument put forward by all Moderate leaders. But to S. P. Sinha belongs the credit of making a forceful plea for a clear declaration of policy by the British Government regarding the ultimate goal of self-government for India. "Such a declaration", he said, "will be the most distinguished way of making their appreciation of India's services and sacrifices—her loyalty and her devotion to Empire. Such a declaration will touch the heart and appeal to the imagination of the people far more than any more specific political reforms..... But an authoritative declaration of policy on the lines I suggest will, without causing much disappointment, carry conviction to the minds of the people that the pace of the administrative reforms will be reasonably accelerated and that henceforth it will be only a question of patient preparation." ' The famous declaration of the policy of progressive realisation of self-government by Montague, the Secretary of State for India in 1917 was the outcome of S. P. Sinha's cogent argument for this cause.

Congress Presidents in the period under review used to make lengthy quotations, usually from the pronouncements of politicians and economists. Pherozeshah Mehta and Lal Mohan Ghosh were, however, *honourable exceptions*. They embellished their addresses with literary grace and quoted the utterances of great poets and philosophers. Both were superb in their biting satire. But Lal Mohan Ghosh had a much broader cultural background. He quoted English and Roman poets with equal facility and referred to classical and modern history with equal success. In the whole range of Congress Presidential speeches it is difficult to find any passage which may be compared to Lal Mohan Ghosh's enunciation of the proposition that neither the rulers nor the people can claim to monopolise the voice of God. He

first of all referred to the utterance of Lord Curzon in which the Viceroy saw the hand of Providence in the extension of British rule over distant and different peoples. Lal Mohan Ghosh comments : “Unfortunately, gentlemen, Providence is only too often appealed to, whether by the governing classes or by the leaders of the masses. Just as, in the times of violent popular excitement, mischief-making agitators pretend to hear the voice of God in every shout of the infuriated mob, so sovereigns and rulers invested with despotic powers, from the time of the Grecian Alexander to that of the German Kaiser of our days, find it easy to believe that every act of theirs is the direct result of divine inspiration”. He then takes up the famous saying *Vox Populi Vox Dei* and comments : “There never was a more grossly misleading proposition clothed with the dignity of a classical tongue. Those who have read history and read it for some purpose, will agree with me that the voice of the people, just like the voice of despots, has very often been far from being the voice of God. When in the dark days of Queen Mary, fanatical mobs exalted over the tortures of Protestant martyrs burnt alive at Smithfield—was the voice of the people the voice of God ? When towards the end of the eighteenth century, the French people maddened with the lust of blood, hunted down aristocrats and Emigrants in the sacred name of liberty when the innocence of childhood, the helplessness of the gentle sex, and the infirmities of age appealed to them alike in vain,—when the blood-thirsty mob, fiends in human form, shouted themselves hoarse, as the saintly Louis, the long suffering Marie Antoinette, the scholarly Bailley, the venerable and learned Malherbes, and a host of other victims were led to execution, will any one dare to maintain at the present day that the voice of the French people during the Reign of Terror was *Vox Dei* and not *Vox Diaboli* ? Let us, therefore, beware of clap-trap phrases and flashy rhetoric.”⁸ This passage is also important as a proof of the Bourgeoisie abhorrence of the revolution. Lal Mohan Ghosh considered Louis XVI as a saintly person, but modern researches have shown that his character was far from being a saintly one.

Some of the Congress Presidents were not quite accurate in their statements regarding historical facts. A great scholar like Dadabhai Naoroji said in 1886 : “The assemblage of such a Congress is an event of the utmost importance in Indian history. I ask whether in the

most glorious days of Hindu rule, in the days of Rajahs like the great Vikram, you could imagine the possibility of a meeting of this kind, whether even Hindus of all different provinces of the kingdom could have collected and spoken as one nation. Coming down to the later Empire of our friends, the Mahomedans who probably ruled over a larger territory, at one time than any Hindu monarch, would it have been, even in the day of the great Akbar himself, possible for a meeting like this to assemble composed of all classes and communities, all speaking one language, and all having uniform and high aspirations of their own." This is an amplification of the report probably dictated by Hume and sent by the Bombay Correspondent of the London Times (Weekly edition) dated December 31, 1885 which said : "For the first time, perhaps, since the world began India as a nation met together." 72 self-elected persons in 1885 and 434 persons in 1886 constituted the Indian nation ! Sanskrit was the *lingua franca* of India before the Moslem conquest and numerous councils and conferences used to be held from time to time ; these were, however, of a religious character. But to say that the Moslem empire in India was more extensive than any Hindu empire is absurd. The empire of Asoka extended from the Hindukush to the river Pennar in the south. Dadabhai Naoroji was not quite accurate in the dates he gave with regard to the foundation of the Bombay Association, with which he himself was closely associated. In his Presidential address in 1906 he said : "In 1853 when I made my little speech at the inauguration of the Bombay Association..." As a matter of fact, he delivered that speech on the 26th August, 1852. Then again, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar said in 1911, "In 1870, for the first time, only one Indian was admitted to the Civil Service as against 825 Europeans."¹¹ As a matter of fact Satyendra Nath Tagore passed the I. C. S. examination in 1863 and entered the service in 1864. No other Indian was admitted to the Civil Service till 1870. In 1871 R. C. Dutt, Bihari Lal Gupta and Surendra Nath Banerjee passed the I.C.S. examination. In 1912 R. N. Mudholkar in his Presidential address said of Bihar : "A powerful kingdom from the Mahabharat times when the redoubtable Jarasandha reigned over it, and a mightier empire in the times of the Maurya Chandragupta, Bimbisara and Asoka, Bihar's ancient eminence is placed on a still higher pedestal by its being the country which gave birth to Gautama

and Mahavira." " Here Bindusara, the father of Asoka, was confused with Bimbisara, the father of Ajatasatru. Gautama Buddha was born at Kapilavastu, which was never included in Bihar. Bhupendranath Basu was guilty of inaccuracy in stating 1880 as the date of introduction of compulsory education in England.

Oscar Wilde has said that a man with a future and a woman with a past are the most interesting persons. Some of the Congress Presidents were men with a future, though the majority had passed the age when one looks forward to the future. Tyabji, Chandavarkar and C. Sankaran Nair were appointed High Court Judges shortly after their election to the Presidentship of the Congress. Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha became Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of State for India and the Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Romesh Chandra Dutt became the Prime Minister of Baroda.

The Congress Presidents tried in their Presidential address to focus attention on the current political problems of the day. But read even after more than half a century one finds the same sort of dull unanimity which characterised the open sessions of the Congress. Almost the same topics and same ideas were repeated every year. The audience and the countrymen at large probably endured these cheerfully with the idea that a subject people must make sacrifices for achieving freedom. The same spirit characterises the patient Indian people when in Independent India the Union and State Ministers occasionally follow the precedent of delivering lengthy speeches repeating the same ideas and information.

CHAPTER IX

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS

The idea of setting up an organisation in England for pushing forward the demands of an Indian political body first occurred to Dwarka Nath Tagore forty-two years before the foundation of the Congress. At his initiative the Landholders' Society appointed George Thompson as its London Agent on July 17, 1843. This precedence was followed by the British Indian Association, whose first Secretary was the son of Dwarkanath Tagore. The accounts of the British Indian Association reveal that a sum of Rs. 10,974 was spent in 1852 and Rs. 7,316 next year in maintaining a British Agent in London.¹

The first Indian leader of the Congress to think of setting up an Agency in London was Dadabhai Naoroji. In 1887 he offered to act as the honorary Agent of the Congress. Next year the work was taken up in right earnest. Thousands of copies of the Report of the Madras session of the Congress along with an English translation of the *Tamil Catechism* were distributed in England. This was the time when the Aligarh group and the *Pioneer* were making vigorous propaganda against the Congress. This had to be counteracted especially in England. The Congress leaders like W. C. Bonnerjee and Eardley Norton went to England, delivered speeches, and published a number of pamphlets. A sum of £ 1700 was spent in 1888 and it was estimated that the propaganda work in England in 1884 would require £ 2500. Hume, Wedderburn, W. C. Bonnerjee and Eardley Norton took the lead in setting up a strong Congress Agency in London on the 27th July, 1889 with William Digby as the paid part-time Secretary of the organisation. Mr. Digby was formerly the editor of the *Madras Times*.

Sir William Wedderburn in his Presidential address at the Bombay session congratulated the Congress on its establishing a Congress Agency in London. He explained its utility thus : "In the Indian National Congress, the people of India, hitherto dumb, have found a voice. But the distance to England is great, and the agency is needed, like a telephone, to carry the voice of the people of India to the ears

of the people of England. It seems to me that the Agency, under your indefatigable Secretary, Mr. William Digby is simply invaluable in bringing India in contact with her friends in England, and in bringing India in briefing those friends when they take up Indian subjects either in Parliament or before the public. Also the agency, with the Committee which supervises its working will, we hope, be the nucleus round which an Indian party will gradually gather itself.”⁷ A formal Resolution (XIII D) was passed in 1889 confirming the appointment of Sir William Wedderburn and Messrs W. S. Caine, M. P., W.S. Bright Maclaren, M. P., G. E. Ellis, M. P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England. The name of the British Congress Committee was for the first time recognised by the Congress in 1891 by Resolution number XII, because we find that even in 1890 the Congress offered thanks to the British Agency of the Congress.

In 1889 a Resolution (XIIF) was moved for raising Rs. 45,000 for the Congress work in India and England.

The very first issue of *India* describes how funds were contributed with enthusiasm at the Bombay session of the Congress. It quotes an Indian correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury* an interesting description of the scene in Congress when the money resolution was proposed. A delegate offered Rs. 1000 towards the required amount. Mr. Norton offered another. Then there was a pause, and the President was about to put the resolution, when a Punjabi representative came forward with a bundle of rupees, and said in broken English : “Mr. President, first take the money and then put the resolution”. The meeting took fire, and for an hour it was a struggle for the platform. Men came from all quarters and in all sorts of attire, depositing rupees, cheques, bills, drafts, etc. on the table, until no less than 65,000 rupees were placed in the Chairman’s hands. The enthusiasm reached its culminating point when a poor *fakir*, under a vow of poverty, stepped on to the platform, took off his cloak, held it up for a moment, laid it on the table and went back to his seat. The cheering was tremendousAnother delegate came forward at the end and offered five hundred rupees for the cloak.⁸

The funds thus raised were spent mostly on the propaganda work in England. The proportion devoted to the expenses in India

may be ascertained from the Resolution (XVI) passed at Nagpur Congress in 1891. It states that a sum of Rs. 40,000 exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress, and Rs. 6000 for the General Secretary's office and establishment. The same year by another resolution (XII) the Congress gave to the Committee much wider powers. As a matter of fact, the British Committee got the mandate of the Congress to do whatever it liked. The Congress respectfully urged the British Committee "to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved." In accordance with this resolution the British Committee sent in 1892 a memorial to the Secretary of State for supplying adequate funds for female education in India and especially for Poona Girls' High School. It is interesting to note that the Committee succeeded in pursuing Lord Ripon and eminent Indologists like Max Muller and Monier Williams.⁴

The most expensive item in the activities of the British Committee was the publication of the journal *India*. As early as 1841 the British India Society in England undertook the publication of a special journal, entitled the *British India Advocate* under the editorship of Mr. William Adam, the friend of Raja Rammohun Roy. The *Bengal Harukaru* described it as a small folio of eight pages with a 'repulsive physiognomy.'⁵ Such a paper did not survive long. The *Hindu* of Madras proposed in 1883 that a journal especially devoted to the cause of India should be published from London. It asked, "Is it altogether beyond the power and liberality of native gentlemen to establish in London such a journal as that of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha⁶. It must be said that the *India* which was started in London in February, 1890 with Digby as editor was much inferior in quality to the quarterly journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. The first issue of *India* covered 16 foolscap pages, printed in double column. It contained a number of drawings of Congressmen, delivering speech at the Bombay session of the Congress in 1889. We thus get the representation of Pherozezshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardly Norton, Pandit Ajudhia Nath, Mr. Nimkar, speaking in Marathi, Principal Adam, G. S. Khaparde, D. E. Wacha, Syed Ali Rizbi, Kali Charan Banerjee, N. G. Chanda-

varkar, S. Subramania Iyer, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ranchoolal Chotulal, H. A. Wadia, Rey. G. M. Cobden, Lala Hurbhazbandas and also of Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. Trembak Caraven and two other lady delegates. These drawings are invaluable from the historical point of view. But no subsequent issue of the journal contained any other picture. Probably the cost was found to be prohibitive. The first is dated simply as February, without any specification of date. This implies that it was designed to be a monthly publication. But the two subsequent issues appeared on March 4 and 18 and the fourth issue on April 11. It was, therefore, neither fortnightly nor weekly. In September, 1892, Mr. Digby resigned from the editorship and from the beginning of 1893 the paper became a monthly one. In course of his Presidential address at the Lahore Congress in 1893 Dadabhai Naoroji said that he wished the journal could be made weekly instead of monthly. He eulogised the services rendered by the paper. He said that without it "our work will not be half as efficient as with it. It is an absolute necessity as an instrument and part of the organisation. Every possible effort must be made to give it the widest circulation possible both here and in the United Kingdom"⁷. The paper became a weekly one from January 7, 1898 and continued to maintain its existence till the end of the year 1920. In 1893 it was edited by H. Morse Stephens, Lecturer in Indian History in the University of Cambridge. From 1894 to 1897, however, the name of Gordon Hewart appeared as editor. The paper does not appear to have enjoyed much popularity either in India or in Great Britain. The Congress Report for 1891 states that Digby, the first editor was paid £ 100 a year for editing the paper. It is not known how much his successors drew. It did not contain any brilliant editorial comment ; nor did it publish erudite and thought-provoking articles as the *Calcutta Review* or the *Madras Review* edited by C. Sankaran Nair. The *Hindustan Review* of S. Sinha, the *Modern Review* of Ramananda Chatterjee, and the *Indian Review* of G. A. Natesan were definitely much superior to the *India*, when it was published once a month. This was partly due to poor editorship and partly to the peculiar type of propaganda it was required to make. It had to follow a timid type of constitutional criticism. It could not subscribe to the doctrines preached by Shyamji Krishna Varma, Madam Cama or Savarkar in England or by Lokmanya Tilak, Sri Aurobindo and

Bipin Chandra Pal in India. The utmost it did was to publish the following comment of Wedderburn on the Muzaffarpur outrage : "When will our Indian rulers realise that, as in Russia so in India, police repression begets secret conspiracy and secret conspiracy begets outrage ? Hitherto political outrage has been rare in India, while in Russia it is the commonplace of political unrest. Why is there this difference ? One reason is the excessive docility of the Indian population ; another reason the comparative mildness of official coercion in India".⁸ It also condemned the incitement given by the Journal *Asia* to Kingsford, who was advised to shoot Indians with pistol or revolver. In this connection *India* published the following interesting observation of Sir Henry Cotton : "It is extraordinary to recall that in the thirty-five years that I was in India, and during which I held the post of Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, I never had to go armed, and I never remember any of my colleagues in Bengal going armed or requiring an escort".⁹ The publication of such remarks, however, was exceptional.

The major portion of the space of the paper was devoted to the reprinting of discussions in the British Parliament and reporting of the speeches made by distinguished Indian visitors to England. The Report of the British Committee for the year 1905-1906 stated : "The journal *India* continues to perform much excellent work for the Congress cause. Besides being an effective voice in the British Press, the journal provides for its Indian readers much valuable information which can not be obtained elsewhere, and which, but for its existence would be lost. Its reports and proceedings in Parliament alone make it invaluable to the serious political student, and it may be well to call particular attention to the issues of March 2, July 27 and November 23, wherein will be found full and special reports of important public functions concerning the Indian people ; the debate on the Address in the House of Commons on February 26, the speeches at the conference convened for the reconstruction of India Parliamentary Committee on February 28; the debate on the Indian Budget on July 20; and the speeches made at the complimentary breakfast to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on November 20."¹⁰ A careful perusal of the above reveals the fact that the authorities of the Journal forgot their original intention of educating the British public with regard to the affairs of India. The British people could easily read the *Hansard*

and get all the facts printed in *India*. Those who were induced by the British Committee to ask questions in Parliament or deliver speeches there wanted to see their names displayed prominently in the paper. The speeches delivered by the so-called delegates of India to Britain were so briefly reported in *India* that the citizens of the United Kingdom could not form an adequate idea of the problems confronting the Indian people. But here again the top-ranking leaders of the Congress had the satisfaction of seeing their activities fully advertised. This might seem to be an extremely uncharitable reflection, but the fact that the Indian leaders of the Congress did never protest against the method of conducting propaganda in England shows that they shut their eyes to the defects of the paper.

Mere reporting of speeches and parliamentary proceedings would have made the journal extremely dull. The Editor, therefore, occasionally published articles on Carlyle, Ruskin and Boswell. In 1907 there was a series of articles on Destruction of Birds, Serpents and wild animals and also on Opium in Ceylon and Indigo, Natural and Synthetic. All these clearly prove that the *India* was conducted most inefficiently.

And yet the task of enrolling subscribers to it was thrust upon the prominent Congress leaders by passing Resolutions mentioning their names individually. At first efforts were made to allocate the expenses of *India* from the general funds provided by the Congress. In 1892 by Resolution Number XVII the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund, which was looked up in the "New Oriental Bank Corporation Ltd." (in liquidation) were authorised to send at least five hundred pounds out of it to the British Committee. The amount was to be recouped by subscriptions from the Standing Congress Committees. By the next Resolution a sum equivalent in Rupees to £2800 (£ 611-0-7 was then equivalent to Rs. 10,000) was allotted for the expenses of the British Committee for the year 1892-93. It further said that deducting the money which had been received up to that time, the balance should be allotted amongst the different Standing Committees, in accordance with arrangements arrived at with them. It is noteworthy that the Congress sanctioned the amount after the expiry of nine months of the financial year 1892-93. The British Committee incurred liabilities in anticipation

of the sanction. But the passing of a mere resolution did not improve the financial position of the British Committee much as is evidenced from a letter written by Hume to Maharaja Lakshmiswara Prasad Singh of Darbhanga on February 3, 1893.

As the letter throws considerable light on the ways of the British Committee we quote below large extracts from it :

"Between the 1st of November, 1892 and the 31st January, we have spent on office (furniture, salaries, stationery, etc) and bringing out and advertising and circulating 10,000 copies of the January number of "India" £455, not one penny of which has been spent without Wedderburn's and my own most careful personal consideration, making a gross deficit of £103. Against this, we have received (including some small remittances on account of "India" unto the Messrs Hutchinson and Co.,) after our severance from them and including £100 that I have given altogether on account both of "India" and subscriptions £650 showing a net deficit on 31st January, of £600. But the practical deficit is larger because we must keep some money in hand, to carry on work for the next two months, and consequently we have outstanding of £200 loan for which Sir W. Wedderburn is responsible from the Union Bank of London, and £800 from the National Provincial Bank, for which Sir W. Wedderburn, the executors of the late George Yule Esquire and Messrs W. S. Caine and C. E. Schwann, M. P.s are responsible. Now for this....loan of £800, the Bank is pressing for payment, and these gentlemen are having to pay the sum out of their own pockets.

Now I believe you will understand that this cannot go on. If you expect members of Parliament to give their valuable time and services and also to be fined £200 a piece on your account, you will expect in vain. Unless, therefore, you wish the whole thing to collapse you will see to the remission at once of at least £1000, of which £690 will serve to clear off old debts and £300 will keep the concern going until you send more. Roughly I estimate that, besides this £1000, £1400 more will be needed, at least, to pay our way to the 31st December next. Now I don't care and it don't matter one straw, how much of this total of £2400 comes out of the Reserve fund, how much out of Committee's contributions, how much out of subscriptions to "India" but the £1000 at once (less any amount that may have been remitted later than January 13, and as yet not received by us) and a

further £1400 as soon as possible and the whole of it before the 1st December, must be remitted".¹¹ The Maharaja, in response to this letter sent his usual annual contribution of Rs. 10,000 to London.

Hume thankfully acknowledged the receipt of this amount in his letter, dated 20th March, 1893 and added: "I can not tell you what a weight this has taken off our hearts, I mean Wedderburn and mine, and how it has relieved us from the unpleasant remarks of some of the other English members of the Committee who did not relish having to pay the money that they guaranteed. With this money, £200 given by Bonnerjee, £100 by myself and other smaller sums that have dropped in, we shall nearly clear off all the debt and shall merely require the money to keep us going which I doubt not will begin to come in and anyhow our honour is saved, because it will no longer be in the power of any one here to say that they were compelled to pay *India's* debts".¹²

But the course of events did not support Hume's optimism. W. C. Bonnerjee had to write to the Maharaja from Croydon on August 25, 1893: "The funds of the British Committee are in a very low ebb just now and Your Highness will confer a great obligation upon the members if you will be good enough to send either to Mr. Hume or to me your contribution of Rs. 10,000 for the current year without delay. The money which Mr. Vindyanath Jha gave me in March was, as your Highness knows, your contribution to the funds of the Committee for the year 1892". This letter proves that the Maharaja made the contribution not to the general fund of the Congress but to the specific purpose of helping the British Committee to carry on its propaganda work in England.

Dadabhai Naoroji, one of the pillars of the British Committee presided over the Congress session at Lahore in 1893 and his influence must have been at work to secure an enhanced amount for the Committee Resolution XX of that year stated that "a sum of Rs. 60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress Publication, *India*, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged either now, or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1894." The same amount was voted by the Congress in 1894. In the resolution during the next four years, however, the words, "and also for the expenses of the General Secretary's office" were added. The resolution passed in 1899 definitely mentioned Rs. 54,000/- for the

expenses of the British Committee and the cost of publication of *India*, though it did not state that Rs.6000 was, for the office of the Joint Secretary, as had been sanctioned by Resolution XIII of 1890. The allotment for the British Committee and the publication of *India* was reduced from Rs. 54,000 to Rs.30,000 in 1900. But it was difficult to raise even this amount. In 1901, therefore, two new devices had to be adopted by the Congress. First, it was resolved that a circulation of 4000 copies of *India* be secured by allocating the following number of copies to the circles and that the gentlemen mentioned against each were made responsible, for the collection of subscription for the paper at the rate of Rs. 8 per year, payable in advance in two half-yearly instalments.

Circle	Number of Issues	Secretaries of the Circle responsible for collecting the subscription
Bengal	1500	Surendra Nath Banerji, Bhupendranath Basu and Baikunthanath Sen
Bombay	1000	Pherozeshah M. Mehta, D.E. Wacha and G. K. Gokhale
Madras	700	Srinivas Rao, Vijairaghav Acharia, V. Ryrur Nambiar, G. Subramania Iyer
C. P. and Berar	450	R. N. Mudholkar
N. W. Provinces & Oudh	200+50	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Ganga Prasad Varma, S. Sinha, A. Nandy, Prithwinath Pandit of Cawnpore
Punjab	100	Lala Harkishan Lal

This resolution shows the relative strength of the Congress movement in different provinces and also the hold the leaders had on each. Whereas one single leader undertook to sell 450 copies in relatively poor circles like C.P. and Berar, as many as five leaders were required to guarantee the collection of subscription from 250 persons in the area covered by the Uttar Pradesh at present. Another part of the Resolution ran as follows :—"That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of *India* and the British Committee, a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him, with effect from

1902." In 1903 the expenses of the British Committee were separately sanctioned. It was fixed at Rs. 10,500 by Resolution Number XIV and the funds for *India* were to be collected by the leaders under the arrangement made in the previous year. In 1904 the amount for the British Committee was increased to £700. In 1905 and 1906 we find no resolution specifying the amount either for the British Committee or *India*.

At the Bankipur (Patna) Congress held in 1912 it was decided that the following gentlemen agreed to guarantee the payment of the sums mentioned against their names before March annually for three years ; that the amount thus collected was to be remitted to England for the expenses of the British Committee and that in addition to this every Reception Committee must remit half of the Delegation fee, subject to a minimum of Rs. 3000.

Circle	Amount in Rupees	Guarantors
Bengal	2000	Baikuntha Nath Sen and Ambica Charan Mazumdar
Bombay	3000	D. E. Wacha and D. A. Khare
Madras	3000+500	N. Subba Rao and C P. Ramaswami Iyer
U. P.	3000	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya
Bihar	1500	Mazharul Haque
Berar	1000	R. N. Mudholkar
Punjab	1500	Rambhuj Datta Chaudhury, Lala Harkishan Lal, Lala Lajpat Rai ¹⁸

Every year, excepting 1906, the Congress used to pass a resolution tendering its grateful thanks to Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the British Committee "for their disinterested services to the cause of India's political advancement." Besides the annual resolution the name of Wedderburn was recalled with gratitude in many Presidential addresses. For example, Surendranath Banerjea said at Poona in 1895 : "But if I am permitted to refer to any one who in a special degree is entitled to our acknowledgments, it is Sir Wiilam Wedderburn, the President of the British Committee. Sir William Wedderburn is well-known in this Presidency, but his is a name which is held in universal honour throughout India as that of a fearless, self-sacrificing and devoted champion of Indian interests."¹⁴

Surendranath attributed the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure to the fearless advocacy of Wedderburn. But in 1906 Dadabhai Naoroji had to complain that the financial relation between England and India was unjust and that the European army expenditure was entirely for British imperial purposes and it should not be thrown on the shoulders of the Indian taxpayers. "In the same way", he added, "all the Government expenditure in England which entirely goes to the benefit of the people in England, and which is for British purposes, is imposed on the Indian people while the Colonies do not pay any portion for similar expenditure in England."¹⁸ This shows the benefit India derived from the Royal Commission.

In course of an article contributed by Wacha on the Congress to the Indian Year Book, published in 1915 we find reference to the following types of service rendered by the British Committee of the Congress: "The Committee invariably invites distinguished or leading Indians when in London to take part in its deliberations. The Committee itself is in constant touch with all proceedings in the House of Commons on Indian affairs and often helps members to put questions when needed. Some years ago it formed a Standing Committee of members of the House of Commons and an attempt is about to be made to revive it. The Committee also keeps itself in communication with the India Office and often acts as a vehicle of conveying Indian opinion to the Secretary of State. As such the organisation renders valuable service to Indian cause in England."¹⁹ Looking at the results of the propaganda work one may question the appropriateness of the conclusion drawn by Wacha. According to Nevinson the British public had very little idea about the activities of the Indian National Congress.

^ CHAPTER X

THE PUBLIC SERVICES AND THE CONGRESS

Indian political leaders had to devote a major part of their energy to the undoing of the mischief done by Lord Cornwallis who adopted the policy of running the entire Indian administration purely by European agency. In answer to a question put by the Parliamentary Committee in 1831, Raja Rammohun Roy said that men of aspiring character and good family considered it derogatory to accept the trifling posts which Indians were allowed to hold under the British Government. He further observed : "I have no hesitation in stating with reference to the general feeling of the more intelligent part of the native community, that the only course of policy which can ensure their attachment to any form of Government would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion according to their respective abilities and merits, to situations of trust and respectability in the State."¹ The British Indian Association sent a memorial to the President of the Board of Control in 1856 praying for the holding of the Civil Service Examination in India. This attempt was the forerunner of all the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress for the holding of the ICS examination simultaneously in England and India.* The British Indian Association again sent a petition to the House of Commons in 1859, when they urged : "The honour and great advantage of being enrolled among the Indian Civil Service—that body to whom are appropriated the highest, if not all, offices of great trust and emolument in the administration of British India—is, in theory, open to all. Your petitioners say, in theory, because practically the boon is available only to European candidates by reason of the competitive test being in London, and therefore excluding all natives of India, whose religious creed,

*Resolution IV of 1885, II of 1888, V of 1889 and 1891, III of 1892, V of 1893, VI of 1894, XVI of 1898, IX of 1901, XIV of 1902, II of 1903, I of 1904, VI of 1905, XIII of 1909, XXII of 1910, XIX of 1911, IV of 1912 and VII C(1) of 1913.

From 1914 onwards this question became merged in the wider problem of getting redeemed the pledge of Provincial autonomy contained in the Despatch of the Secretary of State dated the 25th August, 1911.

national habits or limited means may make it impracticable for them to undergo the required test in London, however ready and able to pass that same test, or one more severe in the country of their birth and residence, and their relation to which, your petitioners humbly submit, would seem to give this excluded class of candidates peculiar claims, *ceteres paribus* (other things being equal) enrolled in the Indian Public Service.”^a The Indian Association took the lead in organising public opinion in favour of raising the maximum age of candidates for the I.C.S. examination and also for the holding of simultaneous examination in 1877*. The age limit was 18-23 in 1855-57, 18-22 in 1860-65, 17-21 in 1866-78, 17-19 in 1878-91 and 21-23 in 1892-95.

The persistent demand of the Congress in this direction for eight years evoked a favourable response when a resolution was passed in the House of Commons on June 2, 1893. The Congress in that year passed the following resolution: “That this Congress desires to thank the British House of Commons for their just and wise vote in regard to simultaneous Examinations in England and in India, and most earnestly prays that august body to insist upon their orders being given prompt effect to by the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India.”^a

But in 1894 Surendranath Banerjea moving the resolution on the simultaneous Examination said that the hope raised by the passing of the resolution of the House of Commons had been blasted. The Government did not give effect to the resolution. It practically said that the Covenanted Service was not intended for Indians, it was meant for Europeans. In 1870 the Parliamentary Statute for the Uncovenanted Service was passed. Under that Statute rules were to be framed by the Government of India subject to which rules, members of the Uncovenanted Service were to be promoted to appointments hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service. “The Government framed half-a-dozen rules in as many years, then it paused for another six years, and then appointed a member of the Uncovenanted Service to an appointment hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Service. If the Government is really so anxious about the well-being of the Provincial

^aThe details of the agitation may be found in Bimanbehari Majumdar's *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature*, Ch. VII.

Service, might I be permitted to ask how was it that the Government did not accept that part of the recommendation of the Public Service Commission which provided that the appointment of a Divisional Commissioner and a member of the Board of Revenue should be reserved for the Provincial Service ?”⁴

M. V. Joshi said that the Secretary of State for India had introduced a new principle by way of racial distinction. He condemned it as a monstrous principle, as the acceptance of the principle that a certain minimum number of Europeans is necessary in the Civil Service of India would mean probably at a future date that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy would stop Indians even from going to England to compete for the I. C. S. examination⁵.

G. K. Gokhale refuted one of the favourite arguments raised by the bureaucracy against the holding of the examination in India. He said, “It is often stated that if simultaneous examinations were granted, the Bengalis would swamp the entire service and that this result would be resented by the people of the other parts of the country. Now gentlemen, in the first place this assertion does grave injustice to the people of other parts. I believe most of us can hold our own even against Bengalis. But assuming for the sake of argument that that would be the result, what then ? Are not the Bengalis near to us than the Europeans who have at present a monopoly of the service ? We have at present in the Bombay Presidency a Bengali gentleman as a Sessions Judge. Now, there may be abler men in the service, but one more respected by the people, or regarded with greater feelings of affection, is nowhere to be found.”*

Gokhale further observed that Indians could never remain satisfied with the Provincial Service. *An absurdly low standard of educational qualification had been set for the competitive examination for that Service. The Government of Bombay proposed that these men should know English sufficiently to understand official reports, should show a moderate acquaintance with one of the vernaculars of the*

*He was referring to Satyendra Nath Tagore, the elder brother of Rabindranath. There was some substance in the apprehension that the Bengalis would swamp the service. In 1892 four Indians passed the I. C. S. examination, their names being Francis Xavier D'Souza (14th place), Jnanendra Nath Gupta (17th), Kiran Chandra De (19th) and John Joseph Platei (26th)—*India*, 1893, p. 4.

Presidency, pass an examination in Arithmetic up to simple interest and the first two books of Euclid⁶.

In 1901 Abul Kasim said that it was absolutely wrong to say that the Mussalmans were against the introduction of competitive examination for public services in India. In his opinion it was an insult to the Mussalman intellect to say that it was in any way inferior to that of any race on the face of the earth. His community would be more benefited by the introduction of simultaneous examination than the Hindus, because the Moslems were poorer than the Hindus and as such could not afford to go to England for taking the I. C. S. examination. He further showed that Sir Syed Ahmed himself presided at a meeting held at Aligarh in 1883 which was especially convened to advocate the holding of simultaneous Civil Service examination. Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, great leader of the Bengali Moslems was in favour of the simultaneous examination⁷.

In 1903 G. Subramania Iyer said that Europeans without any experience were being imported even for the posts in Provincial Service. He cited the instances of two appointments in the Revenue Survey and the Sanskrit Professorship of the Madras Presidency College which were being offered to Europeans, but the Madras Mahajana Sabha got these cancelled by sending a telegraphic petition to Lord Kimberly, the then Secretary of State for India⁸.

As early as 1888 Parbati Charan Roy, Deputy Magistrate of Alipur, Calcutta had shown that the schedule of appointments reserved for Civil Service by the Statute of 1861 did not include the following posts—Commissioner of Police, Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, Inspector-General of Police, Collector of Customs, Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner in the Non-Regulation Provinces, Inspector-General of Registration, Superintendent of Stamps and Stationery, Postmaster General, Director of Agriculture, Registrar, High Court, Settlement Officer and Income Tax Commissioner. And yet not one of these posts had been conferred on an Indian. The Public Service Commission appointed in 1886 under the Presidentship of Sir Charles Aitchison held that they were unable to proceed on the general assumption that Indians were unfit to hold charge of districts or other important executive posts. They recommended that opportunity should be afforded to Indians to prove

their fitness for holding the executive charge of districts. But the Government did not open new avenues of employment. On the other hand, very few posts in higher grade in the ordinary departments of Government, not requiring any special qualification or technical knowledge were thrown open to Indians⁹. These very figures were utilised by Congress leaders to show that the position of Indians did not improve much.

Surendranath Banerjea in his speech in 1904 referred to the statistical tables relating to the period of 36 years from 1867 to 1903 supplied by Lord Curzon to the Supreme Legislative Council. He said that according to the statement of the Government of India, in 1867 there were 13,431 appointments carrying salaries of Rs.75 a month and upwards. The Hindus and the Moslems occupied 72% of these appointments, while the Europeans filled 28%. "In 1897 the total number of appointments came to 25,370, that is, nearly double of what had been in 1867, and our percentage was 56 while the percentage of Europeans was 44." In 1903 the total number of appointments rose to 28,278 but the percentage remained the same. He further pointed out that so far as appointments carrying salaries of Rs. 1000 and upwards were concerned the percentage of posts held by Indians was only 14.¹⁰ If the posts carrying salaries of Rs. 500 and upwards were taken into consideration, then it was 17% in 1893.

In supporting the same resolution, G. Subramania Iyer said : "Ladies and gentlemen, I have got figures showing you how in each department our position is much worse than it was in the year 1867—chosen by Lord Curzon himself—but the time at my disposal does not permit me to place before you these figures, but I hope that they might appear in the Report of the Congress." But unfortunately these valuable figures were not printed in the Congress Report, probably because these were published in an article contributed by the speaker to the *Hindustan Review*¹¹.

Lord Curzon said in the Imperial Legislative Council : "Will any one tell me in face of these figures that our administration is unduly favourable to Europeans or grudging to the native element ?" G. Subramania Iyer controverts this proposition by re-arranging the same set of figures.

General Administration*

	Rs. 75—200 ,				
	1867	1877	1887	1897	1903
Total posts	661	925	1060	1222	1312
Hindus	373	571	717	875	930
Moslems	29	34	32	36	57
	Rs. 200—1000				
Total posts	308	360	373	420	428
Hindus	66	103	125	170	180
Moslems	4	6	2	10	5
	Rs. 1000 and over				
Total posts	124	143	141	144	155
Hindus	2	2	x	1	6
Moslems	x	x	x	x	1

Customs

	Rs. 75—200				
Total	388	401	275	356	392
Hindus	70	40	22	64	82
Moslems	6	2	x	6	5
	Rs. 200—1000				
Total	138	169	107	161	177
Hindus	8	8	5	16	15
Moslems	1	x	x	x	x
	Rs. 1000 & over				
Total	8	7	8	6	8
Hindus	x	x	x	x	x
Moslems	x	x	x	x	x

Education Department

	Rs. 75—200				
Total	429	631	738	737	844
Hindus	335	521	633	621	694
Moslems	39	65	49	71	78

* We have omitted the figures relating to the employment of Europeans and Eurasians. If we add the figures relating to posts held by the Hindus and Moslems and subtract them from the total we will get the number of posts held by the Europeans and Eurasians.

*Congress and Congressmen***Rs. 200—1000**

Total	179	273	292	350	400
Hindus	45	99	146	193	232
Moslems	1	8	11	12	19

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	18	38	49	39	49
Hindus	x	1	3	x	1
Moslems	x	x	x	x	x

Excise Department**Rs. 75—200**

Total	18	24	95	172	237
Hindus	12	14	55	81	148
Moslems	1	2	7	43	34

Rs. 200—1000

Total	3	2	16	42	116
Hindus	2	1	8	28	50
Moslems	x	x	x	x	3

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	x	x	x	3	2
Hindus	x	x	x	2	1
Moslems	x	x	x	x	x

Foreign**Rs. 75—200**

Total	12	23	35	35	39
Hindus	1	3	8	8	7
Moslems	x	1	3	3	2

Rs. 200—1000

Total	13	14	18	17	17
Hindus	1	1	2	1	1
Moslems	1	1	1	1	1

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	3	2	3	3	4
Hindus	x	x	x	x	x
Moslems	x	x	x	x	x

Forests

Rs. 75—200

Total	23	92	125	181	312
Hindus	3	41	71	113	234
Moslems	6	8	13	19	25

Rs. 200—1000

Total	46	124	166	252	273
Hindus	1	3	11	41	59
Moslems	x	x	2	2	7

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	4	13	17	24	23
Hindus	x	x	x	1	x
Moslems	x	x	x	x	x

Jails

Rs. 75—200

Total	168	201	201	200	224
Hindus	49	64	94	111	133
Moslems	10	14	14	10	14

Rs. 200—1000

Total	23	53	77	95	98
Hindus	1	3	9	13	22
Moslems	x	x	x	1	x

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	6	11	9	7	7
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No Hindu, No Moslem.

Judicial

Rs. 75—200

Total	755	783	911	1142	1160
Hindus	544	573	692	913	876
Moslems	78	79	95	121	139

Rs. 200—1000

Total	510	783	904	1004	994
Hindus	277	541	669	779	797
Moslems	99	87	84	80	78

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	162	203	204	227	239
Hindus	8	13	17	28	37
Moslems	x	1	2	8	12

Land Revenue**Rs. 75—200**

Total	1325	1562	1725	2284	2378
Hindus	917	1194	1343	1818	1874
Moslems	209	218	237	276	330

Rs. 200—1000

Total	1309	1503	1563	1832	1975
Hindus	441	586	842	940	1032
Moslems	156	192	203	279	289

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	164	288	257	282	278
Hindus	x	x	1	10	14
Moslems	x	x	x	3	5

Medical (Civil)**Rs. 75—200**

Total	152	219	408	395	506
Hindus	76	135	283	239	343
Moslems	8	15	28	28	46

Rs. 200—1000

Total	236	279	300	348	424
Hindus	44	30	76	124	155
Moslems	7	8	7	6	7

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	11	77	75	80	112
Hindus	x	1	2	4	6
Moslems	x	x	x	x	x

Military Accounts

Rs. 75—200

Total	188	251	283	300	306
Hindus	133	186	200	206	223
Moslems	1	x	5	5	6

Rs. 200—1000

Total	76	89	83	91	94
Hindus	24	32	28	19	24
Moslems	Nil	—	—	—	—

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	x	x	x	1	1
No Hindu and No Moslem.					

Opium

Rs. 75—200

Total	34	32	50	41	137
Hindus	15	17	23	22	100
Moslems	1	x	9	2	23

Rs. 200—1000

Total	50	76	63	77	75
Hindus	x	2	x	7	8
Moslems	x	2	x	4	4

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	4	4	4	4	6
No Hindu and no Moslem.					

Police

Rs. 75—200

Total	924	1008	1122	1675	1810
Hindus	445	525	559	894	979
Moslems	210	227	246	349	341

Rs. 200—1000

Total	426	511	589	775	798
Hindus	29	84	115	127	128
Moslems	12	31	39	46	51

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	32	46	47	45	49
No Hindu and No Moslem.					

Political**Rs. 75—200**

Total	54	85	143	229	247
Hindus	23	47	78	120	148
Moslems	10	11	18	59	66

Rs. 200—1000

Total	40	84	111	168	170
Hindus	9	18	23	32	37
Moslems	4	7	14	19	20

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	22	41	52	59	65
No Hindu					
Moslems	x	x	1	1	1

Post Office**Rs. 75—200**

Total	236	422	683	786	988
Hindus	160	177	455	548	728
Moslems	8	19	45	48	66

Rs. 200—1000

Total	87	136	203	189	161
Hindus	20	36	55	53	21
Moslems	x	1	5	7	6

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	6	8	7	10	11
Hindus	x	x	1	1	1
No Moslem.					

Public Works**Rs. 75—200**

Total	794	1120	1111	1239	1340
Hindus	354	625	692	855	964
Moslems	18	72	81	92	120

Rs. 200—1000

Total	840	1184	1139	840	884
Hindus	107	201	282	314	333
Moslems	5	10	24	35	37

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	49	58	46	180	193
Hindus	x	x	x	8	9
Moslems	x	x	x	x	2

Salt

Rs. 75—200

Total	45	128	150	240	250
Hindus	30	54	60	142	144
Moslems	1	7	7	4	17

Rs. 200—1000

Total	44	100	146	160	163
Hindus	8	16	17	28	46
Moslems	1	3	3	4	1

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	1	3	10	9	12
No Hindu and no Moslem.					

Stamps

Rs. 75—200

Total	8	14	17	17	20
Hindus	6	13	16	16	19
No Moslem.					

Rs. 200—1000

Total	6	5	5	5	5
Hindus	1	2	2	1	3
No Moslem.					

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	1	1	1	1	1
Hindus	1	x	x	x	x

State Railways**Rs. 75—200**

Total	10	166	1122	1195	1418
Hindus	8	71	355	386	430
Moslems	x	9	37	33	69

Rs. 200—1000

Total	9	385	796	762	780
Hindus	1	16	60	98	94
Moslems	x	x	2	5	12

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	2	19	39	103	97
Hindus	x	x	x	1	x
Moslems	Nil	—	—	—	—

Telegraphs**Rs. 75—200**

Total	1038	844	1361	1765	2288
Hindus	128	117	244	453	748
Moslems	4	4	13	24	29

Rs. 200—1000

Total	98	107	153	131	214
Hindus	2	6	6	10	18
Moslems	x	x	x	x	x

Rs. 1000 and over

Total	8	13	10	18	21
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No Hindu and no Moslem.

The writer further observed : "Between 1867 and 1903 the number of European employees has increased more than that of Indians in the salary range Rs. 200 and 1000. In the Customs Department between these two years so many as 20 new appointments have been given to Europeans, 12 to Eurasians and only 12 to Hindus and none to Mahomedans. In the Excise Department out of an increase of 113 appointments in the total since 1867, so many as 62 have been conferred on Europeans and Eurasians, only 51 on

Indians. In the Foreign Department no Hindu or Mahomedan is employed on salary over Rs. 200. In Jails, out of 75 additional appointments, 43 have gone to Europeans, 11 to Eurasians, and 21 to Hindus. In the Political Department out of the increase of 130 to the total number of appointments, 78 was appropriated by Europeans, only 28 and 16 by Hindus and Moslems. In the Post Office, 74 new appointments were added during the period of 36 years; out of these so many as 53 were given away to Europeans and only 7 to Hindus and Moslems. In Opium, out of 25 additional appointments, Europeans got 17 while Hindus and Moslems 12, Eurasians losing 4. In Salt the total number of appointments increased by 119, and this increase was distributed into 31, 50 and 38 among Europeans, Eurasians and Indians respectively. In Telegraph since 1867, so many as 330 new Europeans and 336 new Eurasians have been employed, whereas only 105 Indians have been introduced. In Police out of an increase of 372, Europeans got 201 for their part, and Hindus and Moslems 99 and 39 respectively.

In the posts carrying Rs. 1000 and over we find that in the Department of General Administration the total number of posts increased from 124 to 155 between 1867 and 1903. Of the additional 31 posts, Europeans received 27, and Hindus and Moslems 4 and 1 respectively. In the Customs there have been only 8 posts, all of which have been held by Europeans. In Education, out of an increase of 31 appointments, Europeans got 30, their number having increased from 18 to 48. In the Judicial Department, the total number of appointments increased from 162 to 239, that is, 77 new appointments have been added. Out of this large number, so many as 37 were conferred on Europeans, whereas Hindus and Moslems received only 29 and 12 respectively. In the Forest Department, 125 new Europeans have been appointed on salaries between Rs. 200 and Rs. 1000, whereas on the same salaries the number of Hindus and Moslems are 58 and 7 respectively. On salaries over Rs. 1000, 19 new appointments have been given away to Europeans only whereas to Hindus and Moslems the number is nil. In the Land Revenue Department, the European officers on salaries over Rs. 1000 increased from 164 to 259, whereas the number of Hindus rose from zero to 14 and of Moslems from zero to 5. In the Medical Department, the post in 1903 exceeded those of 1867 by 101, out of which 95 were given away to Europeans and only 6 to Hindus", "

These statistical tables throw a flood of light on the history of Public Administration in India. These also explain partially some causes of jealousy and bitterness between the two major communities in India. An acute observer like Nevinson noted how promotion to the upper grade in General Administration depended on the number of convictions. He wrote in 1908 : "Promotion still went in practice by the number of convictions obtained, and convictions too often depended on evidence derived by the Police from the accused themselves—so-called 'confessions' extorted by means which rightly or wrongly, were spoken of with horror among the people, and even among Anglo-Indians".¹³

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru pointed out that in course of a long period of fifty-five years, from 1855 to 1910 only 80 Indians succeeded in passing the I. C. S. examination, while 2600 Europeans came out successful during the same period.¹⁴ N. Subba Rao said in the Imperial Legislative Council that in March, 1911 out of 1300 Civilians only 64 were Indians.¹⁵

R. N. Mudholkar devoted a large portion of his Presidential speech in 1912 to the discussion of the position of Indians in Public Services. He explained the importance of the question in the following words : "Improvements in our political status among the nations of the world can only come when we have a potent voice in our legislatures and a commanding position in the executive machinery. This is one of the reasons why such immense importance has been attached by the Congress and by the political associations of pre-Congress days to the larger and ever increasingly larger employment of Indians in the higher grades of the public services of the country. And it is not only our *amour propre* and our dignity that are affected, but our very existence as a civilised community is involved in this question. It is not a mere matter of a few scores or hundreds of high appointments for the scions of the educated middle classes as the apologists of the European monopoly and some of our own men say, but it is one of the most vital things determining the present well-being and the future welfare of all the Indian communities." ¹⁶ He referred to the five objections urged in 1893 against the introduction of simultaneous examination and refuted them. He held that if with one million and a quarter of Indians in Government service, the essentially British character of the administration had not been affected,

there could be no danger to it if out of 1200 of the listed posts, even 600 were held by Indians. He advocated the Indianisation of other departments too by showing that race and colour ought to have nothing to do with efficiency in imparting Education, in the construction of Public Works, in Medical Relief, in Sanitation, in the conservation and working of Forests, in realising Customs dues and preventing smuggling, in making Surveys, in constructing and working railways, in maintaining Telegraph lines or sending or receiving messages. ¹⁷

The Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, appointed in 1912, submitted its report in August 1915. The report gives the following interesting figures regarding the employment of Indians. ¹⁸.

Posts directly under the Government of India *

Salary Rs.	Total no. of posts	Total no. of Hindus	Total no. of Moslems
200- 300	788	89	29
300- 400	308	56	15
400- 500	250	42	7
500- 600	192	22	1
600- 700	96	12	1
700- 800	82	8	x
800- 900	80	9	x
900-1000	62	4	x
1000-1200	108	6	x
1200-1400	89	6	x
1400-1600	53	3	x

There was no Indian in posts carrying higher salary excepting 1 Hindu in the grade Rs. 2000-2500. The Hindus held 11 per cent and the Moslems 2 per cent of these 2187 posts. Of the 258 posts in these grades held by the Hindus, 103 were occupied by the Brahmanas, 31 by the Kshatriyas, 61 by the Kayasthas, 13 by the Vantias and Vaisyas, 11 by the Sudras and 39 by members of other castes.

* Members of the Indian Civil or Police Service serving under the Government of India have been included in the statements of the provinces to whose cadre they substantially belong.

Assam

Rs. °	Total	Hindus	Moslems (forming 50.25% of population)
200- 300	67	47	8
300- 400	28	14	5
400- 500	40	12	1
500- 600	37	9	3
600- 700	18	2	1
700- 800	16	1	x
800- 900	7	1	x
900-1000	12	1	x

No Indian got salary above Rs. 1000.

The total number of posts carrying salary of Rs. 200 to Rs. 4000 and above was 266. Of these the Hindus held 33% and Moslems 7%. In Assam the Kayasthas held 31, the Brahmanas 28, Vaisyas 5, Sudras 1 and other Hindus 22 of these posts.

Bengal

Salary	Total number of of posts	No. of posts held by the Hindus	No. of posts held by the Moslems (forming 52.74% of population)
200- 300	467	344	60
300- 400	245	175	25
400- 500	213	131	15
500- 600	146	61	8
600- 700	78	43	2
700- 800	77	15	2
800- 900	46	15	1
900-1000	39	2	
1000-1200	49	11	x
1200-1400	28	6	x
1400-1600	27	x	x
1600-1800	14	3	1
1800-2000	22	2	x
2000-2500	39	4	x
2500-3000	24	1	1

The total number of the posts carrying salary of Rs. 200 to Rs. 4000 and over was 1528. Of these the Hindus held 53% and Moslems 8%. The Kayasthas held 295, the Brahmanas 285, Kshatriyas 5, Vaisyas 21, Sudras 31 and other Hindus 176 posts.

Bihar and Orissa

Salary	Total number of posts	No. of posts held by the Hindus	No. of posts held by the Moslems (forming 10.63% of population)
200- 300	230	154	38
300- 400	122	62	24
400- 500	111	51	15
500- 600	91	28	12
600- 700	43	25	3
700- 800	41	3	1
800- 900	25	9	1
900-1000	16	1	x
1000-1200	20	6	x
1200-1400	13	1	x
1400-1600	16	x	x
1600-1800	3	x	x
1800-2000	14	1	x

No Indian got salary above Rs. 2000.

The total number of these higher posts was 784 of which the Hindus held 342 or 44%, the Moslems 95 or 12%. The Kayasthas held 149, the Brahmanas 101, Kshatriyas 7, Vaisyas 24, Sudras 9 and other Hindus 52 of these posts.

Bombay and Sind

Salary	Total No. of posts	No. of posts held by Hindus	No. of posts held by Moslems (forming 20.32% of population)	Parsi
200- 300	425	251	24	42
300- 400	160	80	8	27
400- 500	149	63	7	6
500- 600	150	36	6	10
600- 700	56	11	x	6
700- 800	59	7	x	1
800- 900	55	9	x	5
900-1000	35	x	x	x
1000-1200	40	4	x	x
1200-1400	37	8	x	x
1400-1600	14	x	x	2
1600-1800	15	x	x	x
1800-2000	29	2	x	x

No Indian got salary above Rs. 2000.

The total number of these higher posts was 1279, of which the Hindus held 471 or 37%, the Moslems 47 or 4%, the Parsis 99 or 8%. Amongst the Hindu officers in Bombay the Brahmanas predominated, holding 303 posts, the Kshatriyas and the Kayasthas each holding 31 posts, Vaisyas 49, Sudras 8 and other Hindus 49.

C. P. and Berar

Salary	Total number of posts	Total No. of posts held by the Hindus	No. of posts held by the Moslems (forming 4.06% of population)
200- 300	57	37	11
300- 400	73	44	11
400- 500	85	40	7
500- 600	82	14	4
600- 700	31	8	2
700- 800	38	3	3
800- 900	30	3	1
900-1000	17	x	x
1000-1200	22	4	x
1200-1400	12	x	x
1400-1600	21	1	x
1600-1800	7	1	x
1800-2000	17	x	x
2000-2500	7	1	x

No Indian got salary above Rs. 2500.

The total number of these higher posts was 511 of which the Hindus held 156 or 31%, the Moslems 39 or 8%. Here too the Brahmanas had the lion's share—103 posts, Kayasthas 26, Kshatriyas 8, Vaisyas 3, Sudras 7 and other Hindus 9.

Madras

Salary	Total number of posts	Total number of posts held by Hindus	No. of posts held by Moslems (forming 6. 67% of population)
200- 300	295	201	17
300- 400	187	102	11
400- 500	170	87	5
500- 600	123	41	4
600- 700	51	17	x
700- 800	75	11	2
800- 900	35	6	1
900-1000	43	3	x
1000-1200	38	2	x
1200-1400	64	4	x
1400-1600	22	2	x
1600-1800	9	1	1
1800-2000	13	x	x
2000-2500	28	x	x
2500-3000	21	1	x

The total number of these higher posts was 1188, of which the Hindus held 478 or 40%, the Moslems 41 or 4%, the Indian Christians 49 or 4%. Of the Hindus, the Brahmanas held 350 posts or 30% of the total number of posts, the Kshatriyas 5, Kayasthas 4, Vaisyas 5, Sudras 78 and other Hindus 36 posts.

The Punjab

Salary	Total number of posts	Total no. of posts held by Hindus	Total no. of posts held by Sikhs	Number of posts held by Moslems (forming 54.85% of population)
200- 300	178	55	24	69
300- 400	107	45	5	21
400- 500	110	22	7	26
500- 600	133	17	4	14
600- 700	55	10	4	3
700- 800	73	1	1	7
800- 990	37	3	x	1
900-1000	35	x	x	x
1000-1200	34	4	x	x
1200-1400	36	3	x	x
1400-1600	32	2	x	1
1600-1800	9	x	x	2

No Indian got salary above Rs. 1800.

The total number of posts in these grades was 908, of which 162 or 18% were held by Hindus, 45 or 5% by the Sikhs and 144 or 16% by the Moslems. Of the Hindus the Kshatriyas held 91, Brahmanas 22, Kayasthas 10, Vaisyas 24, Sudras 1 and other Hindus 14 posts.

United Provinces

Salary	Total number of posts	Total no. of posts held by indus	Number of posts held by Moslems (forming 14·11% of population)
200- 300	326	153	99
300- 400	182	93	43
400- 500	177	66	31
500- 600	174	42	19
600- 700	55	20	8
700- 800	86	4	2
800- 900	63	14	3
900-1000	23	x	x
1000-1200	47	6	2
1200-1400	49	1	x
1400-1600	16	1	x

No Indian was there in posts carrying salary above Rs. 1600 excepting 1 Parsi and 1 Moslem on Rs. 1800-2000. The total number of posts carrying salary between Rs. 200 and 4000 and above was 1316 of which the Hindus held 400 or 31% and the Moslems 210 or 16%.

For the whole of India there were 11,064 posts on the 1st April, 1913 carrying a salary of Rs. 200 and over. Of these the Europeans held 4898 or 44%, Anglo-Indians 1593 or 14%, Hindus 3199 or 29%, Moslems 771 or 7%, Parsis 159 or 1%, Sikhs 67 and Buddhists 198 or 2%. But so far as the posts with salary of Rs. 1000 and over were concerned, the Europeans held 1568 or 88%, Anglo-Indians 69 or 4%, Hindus 102 or 6%, Moslems 14 or less than 1%, Indian Christians 13 or less than 1%, Parsis 8 and Buddhists 2 posts. The presence of Buddhist officers is explained by the fact that Burma formed a part of India in those days.

The elaborate figures given above show that the Congress movement did not produce any tangible result with regard to the higher offices, carrying a salary of Rs. 1000 and over. If we put the criterion of higher offices at Rs. 500 or above per month, there were 5390 posts of which no less than 83% were held by Europeans and Eurasians and 17% by Indians. On the 1st April, 1917 there were 1478 officers occupying posts ordinarily reserved for the members of the Indian Civil Service. Of these only 146 including the 72 Statutory Civilians and officers of the Provincial Service holding listed posts were Indians.

The Congress passed resolutions for the employment of larger number of qualified Indians in the Army, Education, Engineering, Medical and Railway departments. The Congress continued to demand commissions in the Army from 1887 and in 1911 moved : "That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the injustice of keeping the higher ranks of the Army closed against the people of this country should remain no longer unredressed". In 1900 the Government restricted the number of Indians eligible to qualify themselves for employment in the Engineering Branch of the Indian Public Works Department, through the Cooper's Hill College to a maximum of two only in a year. The Congress protested against this in the same year and urged that the said College should be made available equally for the use of all subjects of Her Majesty.

Persons belonging to the Military Service used to be appointed to the Medical Department. The Congress began to demand the reconstruction of the Civil Medical Service from 1893. Resolutions to this effect were passed every year up to 1902 and then again in 1910 and 1911. In the last-mentioned year the Congress thanked the Secretary of State for his despatch regarding the employment of Indians to the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service, but regretted that no action had been taken in the matter. The Ilington Commission on Public Service recommended in 1915 that the practice of employing military officers on civil duties should be continued in the medical, public works, railway, and survey of India departments.¹⁹

In 1902 the Congress passed a resolution regretting the virtual shutting out of Indians from posts in the Railway Administration like Traffic Inspectors, District Traffic Superintendents, Accountants,

etc. and noted that appointments on Rs. 200 or above were, as a rule, bestowed only on Europeans. The Congress, therefore, deemed it its duty to urge in the interests of economical railway administration, and also for the purpose of removing legitimate grievance, that Government would be pleased to direct the employment of qualified Indians to the higher branches of the Railway Service. But it was a cry in the wilderness.

The failure of the Congress to secure an adequate number of higher posts for Indians was mainly due to the strong opposition of the White Bureaucracy working here or residing in the United Kingdom as pensioners. "The Anglo-Indian administrator", wrote Ramsay Macdonald, "lost his opportunity. The Congress, which ought to have been accepted by him as a useful critic, was regarded by him as an irreconcilable enemy. He resented it. He misrepresented it. He handed it over to the mercy of the left wing." ¹⁰

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION AND THE CONGRESS

The Indian National Congress was the product of middle class persons, trained in western type of education. Its proceedings were mainly conducted through the medium of English, though there was no bar against the delivery of speeches in the regional languages of India. The movement, therefore, was mainly confined to persons educated in English schools and colleges. The strength of the movement could be roughly measured to some extent if we can find out the number of persons who received education from the Indian Universities in the last century. A few thousand persons could carry on political agitation through the English medium even before the starting of the Indian Universities, as is evidenced by the proceedings of the British Indian Association, the Madras Native Association and Bombay Association. In 1851 the total number receiving English education in Bengal was 4341; of these the four colleges—the Hindu College in Calcutta, the Dacca College, the Hooghly College and the Krishnagar College had 1404 students. But in 1857 there was only one College in Madras imparting education to 302 students. There were two colleges in Bombay with 103 students between them on the same date. The Bombay University did not hold its first Entrance Examination before 1859. 162 candidates passed the Entrance Examination from the Calcutta University, and 54 the Matriculation Examination from the Madras University in 1857. Between 1857 and 1870, 7560 students matriculated from the Calcutta, 2306 from the Madras and 1227 from the Bombay University.¹

The number of successful candidates turned out of the three Universities during a period of ten years, from 1864 to 1873, was as follows:²

	Calcutta	Madras	Bombay
Matriculation	8025	3974	1970
First Arts	2055	1127	321
B. A.	860	296	168
Hons. & M.A.	216	9	34
Law	704	78	33
Medicine	496	10	94
Civil Engineering	36	8	83
Total	12,392	5502	2703

This table shows that 61% of the students passed from the University of Calcutta. The Government appears to have been alarmed even at this progress, because they found it difficult to provide suitable employment to all who passed the examinations. A Commission was appointed in 1882 with Sir William Hunter as President and 21 other members, including Ananda Mohan Bose, Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Bhudeb Mukhopadhyaya and Jotindra Mohan Tagore. The Commission recommended the gradual withdrawal of Government from the direct management of institutions imparting higher education. "Local management under Government inspection, stimulated by grants-in-aid, was to supplement and finally, perhaps in large measure, to supersede direct management by Government." It also encouraged the levying of tuition fees at a lower rate by the privately managed colleges. A number of such institutions sprang up and flourished. This was the natural consequence of the increase in the number of Matriculates. In 1882 their total number was 7429 from the three Universities. In 1885-86 the total rose to 13,093, nearly double in four years, and in 1889 to 19,138. The following table illustrates further increase in the number of successful candidates at various examinations.

**Number of successful candidates during five years
from 1887-88 to 1891-92**

University	Total	Matriculation	F. A. etc.	B. A. etc.	M. A. etc.	Law
Madras	14247	9457	2793	1765	21	211
Bombay	6210	4143	1042	848	19	158
Calcutta	15955	9425	3810	1599	266	855
Allahabad	3586	2508	704	291	33	50
Punjab	2057	1407	466	158	9	17

The most noticeable feature in this table is that the number of candidates coming out successful in Madras was almost equal to that of Bengal though the population of Madras was nearly one half of that of Bengal of that time.

Number of successful candidates from 1892-93 to 1896-97

	Total	Matriculation	F. A. etc.	B. A. etc.	M. A. etc.	Law
Madras	11768	5546	3243	2401	40	538
Bombay	8647	4813	2119	815	41	859
Calcutta	20238	12602	4850	1830	329	627
Allahabad	5837	3621	1185	740	108	183

The University of Calcutta now became more prolific ; it produced almost the same number of students as Madras and Bombay combined. The Editor of the Quinquennial Review states : "At both Madras and Bombay the number of M. A.'s has doubled, though each of them can only show about eight a year, compared with 66 at Calcutta. The large number of Allahabad seems to be dearly purchased by a reduction in the standard of examination, the average of success there being as high as 65.9 per cent, contrasting with 35.7 per cent at Madras".⁸ The higher percentage of success at Allahabad might have been due to more efficient teaching of students. But the authorities bestowed praises on the Examiners who massacred the candidates in larger number just as they awarded promotion to those executive and judicial officers who convicted larger number of persons. They apprehended troubles from the increased number of educated persons and tried to devise measures to check the progress of higher education, especially in Bengal where the number was increasing at a phenomenal rate. We will understand the causes of criticism of the educational policy of the Government by Congressmen if we bear this background in mind.

Moving Resolution number VIII in 1891 Heramba Chandra Maitra said that the Government was contemplating the abolition of all the Zillah Schools in Bengal, so far as the Government was concerned and to close the colleges of Rajshahi and Hoogli. He observed : "Let us resolve not to permit this scandal and barbarism. We will not allow the Government to assert uncontradicted that it is anxious to promote primary education and yet remain doing nothing in that direction, while gradually withdrawing itself from all concern with higher education." ' He pleaded for many-sided education, which would enable the educated people to earn their own bread without caring to accept the posts of clerks and Deputy Magistrates. G. K. Gokhale said in seconding the resolution that in the countries of Europe 90 per cent of the school-going population attended school, while in India the proportion was only 11 per cent. In Europe, he added, the most backward country devoted not less than 6.5 per cent of the public revenues on education while in India it was about 1 per cent, though about 20 years ago it was 1.4 per cent. Lord Dufferin's Government issued a

resolution in June 1888 distinctly stating that thereafter the expenditure on education should be reduced rather than increased.

Next year the task of moving the resolution on Education fell upon the great philosopher, Brojendranath Seal, then holding the post of Principal of Berhampore College. He began his speech with a philosophical observation : "A national system of education which moulds the minds and destinies of a seventh of the entire human race has something in it of the endless vista, something of the measureless tread of generations that we find in the awful mysteries and dispensations of Providence. A statesman with the creative gift, with the vision and the faculty divine, will find in the unrealised potencies of such a situation the *materia prima*, the unorganised matter, for educating a moral world peopled with the 'fair humanities and intelligent essences' of the millenium. Something of the prophetic vision, an inspired sense of the glorious possibilities of an enlightened and puissant Federation of Nations in this dark Eastern Continent, filled the minds of the great pioneers of western education in India, among whom we find the illustrious names of Munro and Elphinstone, of Macaulay and Bentinck." Then he divided the policy of the Government under four heads—University, Secondary, Primary and Technical. As regards the first, he said, that in Bengal three State Colleges had already been transferred to private management and the staff of European Professors at the Hooghly College had been reduced, while the Krishnagar and Rajsahi Colleges had been placed under European Principals of the Subordinate Educational Service. In Bombay the State grant to the University of Rs. 15,000 a year had been threatened and higher rate of tuition fees had been proposed there. In the Punjab, of the six colleges only one remained under the Government in 1890-91. In Madras the same policy of withdrawal of Government and management had been kept in view. He found the same policy of withdrawal manifest in the case of Secondary Education. In Bengal two Zillah schools would be abolished annually according to a scheme drawn up by the Lieutenant-Governor. The educational service too would be made non-pensionable. "Gentlemen", he said, "these proposals may appear to you very drastic, but you must remember that the evergrowing desire for high education in Bengal has been regarded in some circles as a disease which demands drastic remedies." He then pointed out that in 1889-90 grants-in-aid were

refused to 413 Secondary Schools. In Madras only 4 out of 147 Upper Secondary Schools were directly supported and controlled by Government.

Turning to the question of Primary education Seal said: "The extension of elementary instruction among the masses is a matter of the highest importance from the politico-administrative as well as the socio-economic point of view". But the Government shifted the responsibility for this work on the Municipalities and Local Boards. In contrast to the Government policy in Bengal, the Bombay Government handed over one-sixteenth of the land-tax to Local Boards, which were required to spend one-third of the amount on elementary education. As regards technical education he said: "We do not hear a word, however, of the Polytechniques or Technological institutes or even of the agricultural, commercial or industrial schools of the secondary grade, which among the Continental nations have borne such splendid fruit in equipping them for the struggle for existence all over the globe, and which England is now fast developing for the sake of her own most cherished and vital interests". He then took a panoramic view of the state of education in the whole world, including the two ideal Indian States and said: "Indeed, when in the shadow of the great modern ideas that are stalking abroad, the States of Mysore and Baroda are developing national systems of education;—when, in the great struggle that has begun among the races of mankind, immobile China has begun to move, and besides adding Mathematics to the Chinese Classics for the Civil Service examinations, has opened a great State College of Foreign knowledge, the *Tweng Wen-Kwan*, where the English, French, German and Russian languages, the physical, the physio-mathematical and the natural history sciences (including such abstruse sciences as physical astronomy and meteorology) are taught by European and American Professors;—when Japan has provided for a population of 40 millions a full-fledged national system of education after the Prussian pattern; providing a Minister of education and the machinery of State Universities and compulsory instruction, so much so that Tokyo can boast of a psychological laboratory such as Cambridge lacks, and a Professor of Psychology who has brought out a great work on this most modern of subjects; when the great post-mediaeval European Renaissance is likely to usher in the greater Renaissance of the world;—we in India

are confronted to our destiny, our discomfiture, our shame, by this unique spectacle of a civilised Government with the noblest traditions practically renouncing some of the gravest responsibilities and functions of all civilised Governments, and reversing its own just and enlightened policy of a hundred years, built up and codified by the statesmen who have bequeathed this priceless legacy of an Empire". It is difficult to find any speech in the whole range of Congress literature which is as broad in its outlook as this magnificent oration delivered by Brojendra Nath Seal. ⁴

One of the important steps which Lord Curzon took to curb the increasingly seditious spirit of Indian youngmen was the appointment of the Universities Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Raleigh, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. At first no Indian excepting the reactionary Syed Hosain Bilgrami was appointed a member of the Commission, which was constituted on the 27th January, 1902. When protests were made against the exclusion of all the Hindus, Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, an eminent Judge of the Calcutta High Court, who had held the post of Vice-Chancellor for two terms was included in the Commission on the 12th February. The Commission concluded its work with unseemly haste and signed the report on the 9th June. It did not circulate any questionnaire, nor did it question witnesses on some vital points. These defects along with many others were pointed out most elaborately by Surendranath Banerjee in his Presidential speech at the Ahmedabad Congress the same year. No one was more competent to speak on this issue than Surendranath because he had been an eminent teacher for more than a quarter of a century and also the Principal of a big College, which he had started without taking any aid from the Government. He devoted more than thirty pages of his lengthy speech to the criticism of the recommendations of the Commission. In justification of this he said that education was at the root of all the progress that had been made in Local Self-Government and other fields and that it was in danger of being restricted to a few rich people. No other question, not even the Vernacular Press Act, the Calcutta Municipal Bill or even the Sedition Bill had caused deeper alarm or evoked more strenuous opposition. He apprehended that the Government wanted that the fifty-nine unaided colleges out of the total of seventy-eight existing colleges in Bengal should cease to exist

on a charge of inefficiency. The Commission recommended a substantial increase in tuition fees. But Dr. Gurdas Banerjee wrote in his Minute of dissent that the colleges should be left free to adjust the scale of fees according to the varying circumstances prevailing in different institutions. Surendranath strongly opposed the increase, because it would make education the monopoly of the richer class. The Commission recommended not only the increase in the number of subjects from three to four at the Degree stage but also an addition to the number of text books. The criticism which Surendranath offered is valid even today and deserves to be quoted. He said : "If the subjects and books were fewer, he would have leisure for careful study, and would reap those great intellectual benefits which careful study confers. As it is, he races through his books and subjects at railway speed—and like the carrier, glad to be relieved of his burden, he flings them away as soon as the destined goal of the examination is reached, rejoicing that he has at last obtained his release, vowing that he will not come within a measurable distance of the Examination Hall or of his books or his studies, if he can possibly help it. To anticipate that under such a system there could grow that generous enthusiasm for knowledge, that craving for learning for learning's sake, which it is the object of all education to foster and promote, is to indulge in the wildest dream. Often under the strain, the unhappy student breaks down, physically and mentally—a complete wreck in every sense of the term."^a

Surendranath Banerjee pleaded for the conversion of the Presidency College, Calcutta as the nucleus of a teaching university. He cited the instance of the teaching university in Tokyo and said that the British Indian Government was not surely going to proclaim to the world that it was unequal to the educational responsibilities which the Japanese Government had assumed. He was glad to find that the Government had not accepted the proposal of the Commission to make the Director of Public Instruction the Vice-Chancellor of the University. He hoped that the powers of the Senate would not be curtailed and that the registered graduates would be allowed to elect fifty per cent of the Senators.' This would appear a strange proposal now, because it would mean intolerable interference of non-educationists in educational affairs. In the early years of the present century neither the government, nor the Congress was prepared to

allow the teachers to conduct and regulate the affairs of the University.

The Congress of 1902 passed the following resolution : "That this Congress desires to tender its respectful thanks to the Government of India for the Circular Letter recently addressed by them to Local Government on the subject of the Universities Commission Report—so far as it relates to the proposals for the abolition of Second Grade Colleges and Law classes—which has partially allayed the apprehension in the public mind that due weight might not be attached to public opinion in taking action on the recommendations of the Commission. That this Congress views with the gravest alarm many of the Commission's recommendations, the acceptance of which will, in its opinion, reverse the policy steadily pursued during the last half of a century by the British Government in the matter of higher education, by checking its spread and restricting its scope and by virtually destroying such limited independence as the universities at present enjoy.

That in particular the Congress objects most strongly to the following recommendations of the Commission :

- (a) The abolition of all existing Second Grade colleges except such as may be raised to the status of a First Grade college and the probabilities of the affiliation of new Second Grade colleges.
- (b) The fixing by the Syndicate of minimum rates of fees for different colleges.
- (c) The introduction of rigidly uniform course of studies throughout the country, irrespective of the lines on which the different universities have so far progressed.
- (d) The monopoly of legal instruction by Central Law Colleges, one for each Province or Presidency.
- (e) The virtual licensing of all secondary education by making the existence of all private schools dependent upon their recognition by the Director of Public Instruction.
- (f) And the officialisation of the Senate and the Syndicate and the practical conversion of the Universities into a Department of Government.

J. Chaudhry moved the resolution condemning the findings of the Universities Commission. He said that the Commission recommended

that freestudentship in a college should be restricted to three per cent only ; but the speaker asked, why should not an institution help its deserving students if it could afford to do so. In Bengal there were 78 colleges, of which 40 were first grade and 50 were unaided, while the rest were aided or Government institutions. It seemed that the aim of the University reform was to abolish the unaided colleges. He protested strongly against the vesting of power of affiliation or disaffiliation in the Syndicate and denying the right of the Senate in this matter. From his personal knowledge of the universities where Lord Curzon and the President of the Commission studied he could say that, "Our 'first class' men are very superior to the Oxford men ; even our 'passed' men are superior to the average 'passed' men either of Oxford or Cambridge".⁸

N. B. Ranade said that the Commission recommended that History and Political Economy should be made optional subjects only in the final degree examination for B. A. "In the Bombay University History is a necessary subject for the Intermediate course and so it is in the Madras University. In other universities there is a choice given between History and some other subjects. Now all the friends of Indian education and all the friends of progress in India require that History should not be abolished from the Intermediate course, but should be made compulsory for that examination and also for the final examination for the degree".⁹

In 1904 Dr. H. S. Gour in supporting the resolution (II) said that if Lord Curzon belonged to Oxford, he had the privilege of being educated at Cambridge. He considered the scheme of modelling the institutions in India on Oxford as an absurd one. "I say the thing is absurd, nay, I say, it is impracticable and has been found to be impracticable even in England. Take for instance the universities of the British Isles. We have such universities as those of Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin which students of means alone can enter. But besides these we have a dozen other universities which are semi-residential or non-residential and which are the seminaries of the poor.... Really, Gentlemen, to place our universities on the footing of Oxford and Cambridge is, in plain prose, to make education the privilege of the rich and not the birth-right of the poor."¹⁰

C.Y. Chintamani said : "In Allahabad, a gentleman of the ability and experience of Principal Ramananda Chatterji, an educational

expert who has done more valuable service to the cause of education in the United Provinces than almost any other Indian gentleman that I know, has been removed from the Senate to make room for a lawyer who lays claim to no qualification such as he possesses. And yet, what was more persistently dinned into our ears than that lawyers should be made to make room for educational experts?"¹¹

The Congress evinced its interest not only in higher education, but also in the introduction of free and compulsory primary education. Lal Mohan Ghosh was the first Congress President to make an elaborate plea for the introduction of compulsory primary education. He said that it was the duty of those who had received the blessings of education to extend that blessing to the masses. He reminded his audience that the ignorance of masses would make them entirely apathetic towards all questions affecting the welfare of the country and especially because the ignorant people were liable to be excited by unscrupulous or fanatical agitators. He recalled how compulsory education was introduced in England when he was residing there as a student. At first the measure was somewhat unpopular because it involved the compulsory attendance of children at school. But the people soon came to realise its necessity. He pointed out the example of Japan which had achieved wonderful results by the introduction of compulsory free education. He cited also the example of the State of Baroda, which took the lead in introducing it in India.¹²

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in course of his Presidential address in 1909 that the Government of India had for fifty years past by their declarations held out the hope that primary education would be made universal. But while many measures costing money which should not have been introduced had been carried out, compulsory primary education had been kept back. He also said that Japan, an Asiatic power made it compulsory nearly forty years ago. He urged that a system of free and general elementary education was needed for agricultural and industrial improvement and also for inculcating the habits of prudence, self-help and self-respect. He pleaded also for the diffusion of technical and industrial education.¹³

In 1911 Gokhale introduced the Elementary Education Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. In support of the Bill he referred to the per capita annual expenditure of 16 shillings in the U. S. A.,

10 shillings in England and Wales, 1s. 2d. in Japan, 7½d. in Russia and barely one penny in India. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar in his Presidential address strongly supported the principle of compulsion. He also supported the levying of a special education rate. He considered it beneath his dignity to reply to those few upper class Indians who objected to the introduction of compulsory education on the ground that it would make it difficult for them to get menial servants. But he wondered how some respectable English journals opposed Gokhale's Bill on the ground that education would create political discontent among the masses and thus tend to disturb the even tenor of British rule in India. He offered the sarcastic comment : "We are seriously told by these public instructors that the safety of British rule in India lies in the ignorance of its subject people and that their advance in knowledge and intelligence would make them disaffected towards it."¹⁴

In 1912 the Congress adopted a resolution regretting the defeat of Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. In 1913 the Congress passed the following elaborate resolution on Education :

- (a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its donation of larger grants towards the extension of Primary Education in India, is strongly of opinion that a beginning should now be made for introducing Free and Compulsory Education in some selected areas.*
- (b) That this Congress, while approving of the proposals by Government for introducing teaching and residential universities, is strongly of opinion that that system should supplement, and not replace, the existing system of University Education, as otherwise the progress of Higher Education among the poorer classes will be seriously retarded.

* This policy has been adopted in the Indian Republic and the administration of primary education has been handed over to the Corporations and Municipalities. But as the Government is wedded to the policy of democratic socialism, it is reluctant to punish the parents and guardians of thousands of children who do not care to attend the schools. The rate-payers, however, are compelled to pay a special levy for the so-called compulsory free education.

- (c) That this Congress reiterates its prayer to Government to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces, having regard to local requirements.
- (d) That this Congress records its strong protest against the action of the Government of India vetoing the selection by the Calcutta University of Messrs Rasul, Suhrawardy and Jayaswal as lecturers, on the ground of their connection with politics ; as the bar of politics is so general as to lend itself to arbitrary exclusion of the best scholarship from the lecturer's chair so detrimental to the interests of Education in the country.

Of the three persons mentioned here Abdul Rasul was the famous President of the Barisal Conference in 1906 ; and Dr. Suhrawardy wrote a strong letter to the Press condemning the rules made under the Morley-Minto Act in 1909¹⁵. But the only offence which the great Orientalist, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal gave to the Government was probably his attendance at the Congress in Calcutta in 1911 as a delegate. The C. I. D. records might possibly show something else also.

In 1916 the Bill for the creation of the University of Patna caused a great stir in the intellectual circles throughout India. C. Sankaran Nair, who was then in charge of the Education portfolio in the Government of India, introduced the Bill in the Supreme Legislative Council. Some of its provisions were based on the recommendations of the Universities Commission of 1902. The Editor of the *Modern Review* wrote elaborate Notes showing the reactionary character of the Bill. Ambica Charan Majumdar, the President of the Congress, said in his Address : "The Patna University Bill, which empowers the Chancellor to deal with any matter connected with the University in any manner 'that may seem to him to be fit and proper' after making an enquiry to be made in any manner that he may think fit, places University education in a large Province entirely under the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar, and it makes the spread of high education impossible by practically prohibiting the establishment of new colleges."¹⁶

Principal R. P. Paranjpye (Bombay) moved that "This Congress places on record its emphatic protest against the highly retrograde

character of the Patna University Bill, and strongly urges that it should be so amended as to make it a thoroughly liberal and progressive measure."

The whole power is being vested in the Syndicate. "The Senate is to be a mere debating club in the Patna University. A clause in the Bill distinctly says that the Senate is to be a merely deliberative body and that its decisions are not to be binding on the Syndicate" (cries of "shame"). Besides the Vice-Chancellor and the D. P. I. there would be four nominees of the Chancellor and five members selected from the staffs of colleges on the Syndicate, which was to consist of 16 members. "There will be only three or four others who, if at all, will represent popular opinion. What would happen is that these popular members on the Syndicate may cry themselves hoarse over any reactionary proposals, but the official majority on the Syndicate will be able to carry out any proposal which they have in their minds and do whatever they like with the system of higher education in the province.

The Vice-Chancellor was to be a paid official of the Government for carrying out the orders and behests of the Government....

This Patna University pretends to be a residential university but the only residentialness that I see in its constitution is that no new college is to be started in Patna which is not within a radius of one mile from the Senate House of the Patna University... The method of confining all higher educational institutions to only four centres will kill all the fountain of philanthropy at its very source."¹⁷

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer regretted that the registered graduates were to elect only 7 members to the Senate, which was to consist of not more than 60 in addition to the ex-officio Fellows. Dr. Nilratan Sarkar observed that only one college was to have affiliation in Honours in Science and two colleges to have affiliation in Honours in some Arts subjects, and the rest must be satisfied with ordinary pass course. As regards external colleges they were not to teach any scientific course at all.

Sachchidananda Sinha, who subsequently rose to be the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University said: "You have heard from previous speakers that Bihar is opposed to a man to the unprogressive and reactionary measures embodied in the Patna University Bill... There is hardly any redeeming feature about it, even when judged

by the most reasonable standard. ...The Government of India think that by reason of the spread of higher education and of our being nurtured on the writings of Burke, Mill and Macaulay we are demanding self-government. The Patna University perhaps contemplates the introduction of text books like those of Mr. Curtes that will teach us that we should learn to take our true position in the Empire as a coloured people, that we should not demand self-government, but be always subservient to the foreign bureaucracy.”¹⁸

The Bill was modified in certain respects in response to public criticism. But it is noteworthy that for more than twenty years after the passing of the Act, Orissa had to be satisfied with only one college, Chotanagpur with one first grade and one second grade college, the Bhagalpur and Tirhut Divisions with one college each and the Patna Division with only three first grade and two second grade institutions. The first sign of expansion became visible only when the Congress came to office in 1937.

In 1916 the Congress recorded ‘its deliberate conviction that to foster the development of high education in India, it is necessary that (1) administrative and educational service should be filled mainly by qualified Indians, the existing distinctions between the Indian and Provincial services being done away with and that (2) a substantial majority of the members of the Senate of the Universities, now existing or to be established, should be elected by the graduates of the Universities and by the professors and teachers of institutions affiliated thereto, and that such Senates should have full control over their own executive and educational policy.’ The first point was emphasised by eminent educationists like Dr. P.C. Roy, Dr. J.C. Bose and Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar in their evidence before the Public Service Commission in December, 1913. Dr. Roy plainly told the Commission that no organisation of the Educational Service could be satisfactory which was based on race, and not on the nature of the work done. He urged that the Indian and the Provincial Educational Services should be merged into one, because the then existing arrangement gave rise to nothing but heart-burning. He held that it was not consistent with a sense of self-respect that men equally educated, doing the same kind of work and of equal calibre should be ranked in two different services.¹⁹ Dr. J. C. Bose regretted that on account of there being no openings for men of genius in the

Educational Service, distinguished men were driven to the profession of Law. " An eminent historian like Jadu Nath Sarkar had to rot in the Provincial Service for more than 16 years while Europeans having no original work to their credit were placed above him. He placed before the Commission the fact that under the then existing condition not only the "Provincial professors" but also the students felt humiliated. He opined that the recruitment to the Provincial Service in Bihar and Orissa during the past fifteen years (1899-1913) had been rather unfortunate, because out of the 18 Professors in the two Government Colleges—at Patna and Cuttack—"There were only six first class M.A.s of whom only one was a Premchand Roychand student, which was the highest intellectual test in India. He was confident that if Government had offered Rs. 250 as the starting pay, all the 18 would have been first-class M.A.s. "1

The Congress advocated the cause of Indianisation of Educational Service, democratisation of the administration of Universities and the diffusion of general and technical education. It laid special emphasis on the introduction of free and compulsory elementary education. But its agitation did not produce much tangible result, except with regard to the first point.

The following figures, taken from the *Modern Review*, January, 1917 reveal the number of literate male persons of twenty years of age and over in British India.

Province	Number	Percentage of adult literate males to total number of males
Assam	220,650	over 6
Bengal	2,363,250	„ 10
Bihar and Orissa	1,008,137	„ 5
Bombay	921,301	„ 9
C. P. and Berar	356,257	„ 5
Madras	2,112,038	„ 10
N. W. F. Province	53,244	„ 4.5
Punjab	565,719	„ 5
U. P.	1,097,097	„ 4.4
	<hr/> 86,97,693	

The total number of adult male persons at the end of our period was thus less than one million. The number of literate women was very much less. If we suppose that all literate adult males and a few women sympathised with the objects of the Congress and took an active interest in Congress agitations the total could not have exceeded one million.

CHAPTER XII[•]

THE CONGRESS ON ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

Those who performed the pioneering work in organising public opinion through public associations belonged almost exclusively to the middle class. They were inspired by the ideals of patriotism and humanitarianism no doubt, but when their own class interest came in conflict with the interests of other classes or even with the concession of elementary rights of humanity they became blind to all other principles excepting self-interest. This may best be illustrated with reference to the attitude of the Congress towards Labour Legislation, Mining legislation, Income-tax, salt tax and land revenue. It is necessary to point out at the very outset that the Congress merely carried forward the policy of making demands with regard to Income tax, salt tax, fixity of revenue where it was not permanently fixed, excise duty, forest laws, and even in regard to the disabilities of Indians in British colonies like Mauritius initiated by the British Indian Association, Bombay Association, Madras Mahajana Sabha and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.*

*See Bimanbehari Majumdar's *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature*, pp. 43, 44, 75-79, 161, 166 etc. Majority of speakers in the Congress derived their ideas, facts and figures from the following illuminating articles contributed by Ganpat Venkatesh Joshi, the Headmaster of Government School at Surat, Sholapur etc. to the quarterly journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in the issue mentioned against each :

1. Economic Results of Free Trade and Railway Extension, Oct. 1884.
2. A Note on Economic Reform, July, 1885.
3. Native Indian Army, January, 1886.
4. National Debt of British India, July, 1886.
5. A Note on Retrenchment, 1886—87.
6. Ways and Means of Meeting the Additional Army Expenditure, April, 1886.
7. Sea-borne Trade of British India, July and Oct. 1888.
8. Burma Deficit and the enhancement of Salt Duties, April, 1888.
9. Economic Situation in India, January and October 1890.
10. Present Financial Position, January, 1896.

Gokhale publicly acknowledged his indebtedness to this writer,

Salt Tax and Income Tax

In 1872 the Amrita Bazar Patrika made a vigorous protest against the proposed abolition of Income tax on the ground that it was levied on persons who had the ability to pay but the land tax and the salt tax were collected even from the poor. It added: "The gap occasioned by the abolition of the Income tax will have to be filled by the imposition of another tax which most probably will have to be paid by the people, or in other words, the abolition of the Income tax will result in the transfer of a burden which is now borne by the rich, who can easily bear it, over the shoulders of an over-burdened and starving population.¹ In spite of this protest the Income tax was abolished by the Government with effect from 1873-74. But in 1878 the Licence tax was imposed and it remained in force till the re-imposition of Income tax in 1886. The minimum taxable income was Rs. 500 a year, but those who had an income up to Rs. 2000 had to pay once 4 pies in the rupee and higher income at 5 pies in the rupee, coming to roughly 2½ per cent. Salaries of officers in the Army not receiving more than Rs. 500 a month were exempted from payment of Income tax. This concession was in practice applicable to European officers in the Army. But the noticeable fact was that when this tax was being imposed, Peary Mohan Mukherji who joined the Congress in 1886, said that this tax would fall heavily on the tax-payers and the Finance member should give a pledge to remove it after a year and he moved an amendment also to that effect. On behalf of the Government Sir Auckland Colvin replied: "The immunity of the middle and upper classes from their due share of the public burdens is a grievous blot on our Indian Administration". He called it a scandal of the gravest magnitude when the poorest were called upon to pay heavily for the support of the Government, and the wealthiest classes were exempted. (2) In April, 1888 G. V. Joshi wrote that the Income tax of 1886 was the only step in the direction of correcting the inequalities in the existing distribution of public taxes between the classes in the cities and the masses in the country. He regretted that it left untouched the income of the Bengal Zamindars and the Assam tea-planters. (3) The Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona submitted a memorial to the Government in 1887 protesting against the

enhancement of Salt tax from Rs. 2/- a maund which Lord Ripon had fixed to Rs. 2/8 and also against the imposition of Income-tax on the middle classes, who had been exempted from it for a long time.

In 1887 the Congress protested against the imposition of the Income-tax on incomes below Rs. 1000 and suggested that the loss of revenue involved in the exemption of incomes between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 should be made good by reduction in public expenditure or by the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton goods. No one said a word against the Salt tax in the Madras session of the Congress. But the memorial of the Sarvajanic Sabha and the learned paper of Joshi on the Burma deficit and the enhancement of Salt Duties probably drew the attention of Congressmen to the need of making a protest against Salt tax. The last ordinary resolution in 1888 ran as follows : "That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the Salt tax, as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the Empire." Joshi contributed another paper on the Salt Duty question to the Quarterly Journal of the Sarvajanic Sabha in January, 1896. It was actually written, according to the editor of the paper, at the end of December, 1895—nearly three weeks before the Government of India introduced into the Supreme Legislative Council a measure sacrificing Rs. 50 lakhs a year on Cotton duties at the bidding of Lancashire. It dealt, the editor wrote, a most unjustifiable blow to the infant Cotton Industry of India, imposing, at the same time, in a most cruel and heartless manner, an additional burden on the starving, struggling millions of India. Joshi showed that under heavy taxation the average consumption of salt had fallen from 14 lbs per head to 6 or 7 lbs. per year. He commented: "No canon of finance, no principle of political economy, could ever sanction such a merciless application of the fiscal lancet ; and no necessity, however imperative—and no financial emergency, however, pressing—could be pleaded in justification of such cynical indifference to the sufferings of the poor". In face of this condemnation by a Government servant how tame appears the Congress resolution passed in 1895 and 1896 pleading for the restoration of the duty to the level of 1888, that is to Rs. 2 per maund instead of Rs. 2-8-0. The Congress thus had no objection to the levying of Salt

Duty at the rate of Rs. 2 per maund. The resolution passed by the Congress in 1902 was worded more strongly but its substance was the same: That the Congress strongly protests against the present high duty on salt, and in view of the fact that the prevalence and spread of many diseases are now traced to the insufficiency of salt consumed by the Indian masses, and that the accounts of the Government of India have now been showing large surpluses year after year, the Congress urges that Government should be pleased to reduce the Salt Tax by at least the amount of its enhancement in 1888. In 1903 the Government reduced the Salt Duty from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 2 per maund. The Congress thanked the Government for this as well as for raising the assessable minimum for Income Tax. It prayed for a further reduction in Salt Tax. The Government did reduce it to Rs. 1-8-0 per maund in 1905. Gokhale said in the Supreme Legislative Council the same year that even with the reduction the impost amounted to about 1600 per cent of the cost price, as it took only about an anna and a half to manufacture a maund of salt. In 1907 the salt tax was reduced to rupee one per maund.

In 1903 the Government exempted persons having an income varying from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000 a year from the Income tax. But the middle class people could not reconcile themselves to the payment of this tax. In 1904 Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, who, of course, never joined the Congress, suggested its abolition in the Supreme Legislative Council. Amongst the grounds furnished by him were that evasion was entirely the rule, that the assessment proceedings were of an inquisitorial character, and that "it violated one of the primary canons of taxation handed down from the days of Adam Smith, namely, that all persons should contribute as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, for the Indian Income Tax was extremely unequal in its incidence." The Government at that time used to levy the tax under one rate for all incomes below Rs. 2000 and at a slightly higher rate for all incomes above Rs. 5000*.

*According to a spokesman of the Finance Ministry in 1966 a person having an unearned income of Rs. 8 lakhs a year is liable to pay a combined tax of Rs. 8.27 lakhs or 103% tax, if his net wealth has been invested in urban lands and buildings. On earned income of Rs. 80,000 the tax payable is Rs. 44,026; on Rs. 2 lakhs Rs. 1.7 lakh and on 4 lakhs—Rs. 3.89 lakhs (*The Statesman*, 6.5.66). Had the taxes been efficiently collected at this rate, the rich could not have grown richer as the Report of the Mahalanobis Committee states.

Labour Legislation

The idea of enacting a Factory Law for India was suggested by Lord Shaftesbury in course of a speech in the House of Lords in August, 1875. He said that India had the raw material and cheap labour and if in addition to these Indian manufacturers were allowed to exact labour for 16 or 17 hours a day, a very unfair advantage would be given to them. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* took exception to this and wrote : "We do not say that Government should look on with approbation while we overwork our operatives to death. But yet a larger death rate amongst our operatives is far preferable to the collapse of this rising industry. Do not nations go to war and thereby cause the death of hundreds and thousands of their own countrymen? They sacrifice a small portion of their countrymen for the advantage of the majority". ' It is refreshing to find that Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee, who was a member of the Parsi community controlling a large number of Cotton mills, sent a petition to Queen Victoria on the 4th April, 1879, imploring her to exercise her benign influence in protecting the factory labourers against the oppression of mill-owners. Faced with these extreme opposites of views the Government of India took the middle course and passed a law prohibiting the employment of children below seven years of age and restricting the period of work to a maximum of nine hours a day for children between the age of seven and twelve. The Bombay Commission found that before this enactment the hours of work for children was from sunrise to sunset with half an hour for rest in the mid-day. The Act did not apply to the indigo factories, tea or coffee plantations, nor to temporary establishments working for less than four months a year, nor to undertakings providing work on any day for less than four months a year, nor to undertakings providing work on any day for less than one hundred persons. These exceptions roused the suspicion of members of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, because they thought that the aim of the Act was not so much to protect the poor children from overwork as to inflict a blow to the growing cotton industry. This apprehension was shared by many members of the Congress, who made sarcastic references to the Factory Act of 1881 in many of their speeches. The Bombay Millowners' Association, with which D. E. Wacha was closely associated, deeply regretted that the Bill should have been introduced.

It held that legislative interference of any kind was wholly unnecessary and would be most injurious not only to the manufacturing interests of the country, but the people of India generally. It was estimated that the cotton mills employed some seven to eight thousand children. They were all served with notice that their services would be dispensed with from the first of July, because the millowners considered the visit of Factory Inspectors intolerable. The Bombay Cotton industry did not die out and on the other hand, continued to gather strength despite the Labour law and the Cotton Excise Duty.

In 1900 the Congress stood forth as the champion of the Bengal Mining Association, of which Baikuntha Nath Sen, a veteran Congressman, was a prominent member. He was to move Resolution XXIV requesting the Government to omit certain important provisions of the Indian Mines Bill. As he could not attend the Congress session on account of some illness in his family, the task of moving the resolution fell on Bhupendra Nath Basu. He made a plea for allowing the coal mine-owners to employ women and children in underground pits and considered the employment of qualified Managers for coal mines a useless luxury. The safety and morality of coal miners were of little importance to him. He moved that the provisions of the Indian Mines Bill so far as they imposed restriction on the employment of labour be omitted and that the penal provision thereof might not be put in force for a period of five years. He said: "I ask you again, where is the country that will introduce and undertake factory legislation in order to suppress and repress factories and make their work difficult?" He said that the Bengalis had invested heavily in small coal fields. "But the British conscience has been aroused, your men are treated as coolies and are shunned as pests in the land of Natal, the British conscience is silent. But your capitalists, these small men who have invested their all in coal-fields, they are engaging men, women and children in underground pits, and British conscience is roused. Shall we, masters of Hindustan, says the British elector, allow these unscrupulous heathens, to work their women and children to sure death? Shall we remain passive spectators while all these iniquities are being perpetrated in the distant land of India, and which we can control? A mandate comes to the Government of India; you must undertake

a Mining legislation, you must see that these poor workmen, women and their children are saved and protected from the rapacity; from the tyrannous oppression of their employers". Apart from sarcasm, the only argument adduced by Basu was: "The workmen have not complained. Their employers have not complained. Not a single voice has been raised from all the four corners of India, in respect of any oppression". He conveniently failed to mention that the poor coal miners were not able to write memorials, hold meetings and air their grievances in newspapers. He said that the Mining Association had requested the Congress to save them from the impending Act, under which they would also be required to employ qualified managers. In many mines, Basu pointed out, the small owner himself was the Manager. ⁵

In 1901 Jogendra Chandra Ghosh moved that immediate effect be given to the Government of India's proposal regarding the enhancement of wages of coolies in Assam. Mr. Cotton had shown that the rate of wages of coolies had been fixed 36 years ago at Rs. 5 to 6 for males and Rs. 4 to 5 for females and as the cost of living had increased the wages should be raised. The planters made violent agitation against Cotton. Ghosh said that Rs. 5 was not certainly sufficient for subsistence for a coolie. Then he cited his own instance: "I happen to be an employer of coolies myself. I have at this moment more than 600 coolies working for me in the Sundarbans. They are paid Rs. 9 a month. I employ no Arkatis, I pay for nobody's passage. I have got no doctors, I build no pucca houses for them. Nevertheless though they have been living in the midst of jungles of the deadly Sundarbans—I have during the last three years lost only one man by cholera and another has been carried away by tiger. My coolies go back to their native village with money and rather improved in health than otherwise, and the result is that at this moment I have in my grants, more coolies than a man of my limited means can give employment to". It is surprising that nobody in the Congress was shocked to hear that no medical assistance was available for the six hundred employees of Ghosh in the Sunderbans. He himself did not feel the least hesitation to proclaim in the public assembly that one of his labourers was devoured by tiger. In any case, his attempt to paint himself as an ideal employer was as futile as it was irrelevant.

While some of the Congress leaders were ready to sacrifice the health and morality of cotton mill workers and coal-miners at the altar of an abstract national prosperity, they evinced unparalleled solicitude for the welfare of tea-plantation labourers. Nearly all of these plantations were under the ownership and control of Europeans. Bipin Chandra Pal delivered a vigorous speech against the inhuman treatment of labourers in tea-plantations at the second session of the Bengal Provincial Conference in 1889. The Indian National Congress took up the work seven years later. It passed a resolution in 1896 demanding the repeal of the Inland Emigration Act of 1859.

Moving the Resolution demanding the repeal of the Inland Emigration Act, Jogendra Chandra Ghosh said : "I have seen poor men and women jump overboard into the deep waters of the Brahmaputra to escape a lot which is worse than death." According to the Emigration Act a labourer, when once he had been registered before a Medical Officer, might be sent to jail if he refused to execute the Labour contract ; that in case of his desertion he might be arrested without a warrant by the servants of his employer and anybody who harboured or abetted a deserter might also be put in jail.⁶

Bipin Chandra Pal said : "The late Kristo Das Pal characterised it as the Slave Act of India, and we all know that Kristo Pal was not the man to utter a harsh word unnecessarily. We also have it on record that a Deputy Commissioner of Assam, Mr. Porteous, in his official report, declared it to be an Act by which the labourers were reduced to a state of quasi-slavery".⁷ The number of labourers in tea plantation was 2,38,000 as compared to 24,794 coal miners and 73,000 workers in Cotton mills.⁸ The agitation, however, failed to achieve any tangible result till 1932 when the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act gave some measure of protection to the workers in tea plantations.

Increasing Poverty of India

At the Nagpur session of the Congress a lengthy resolution was passed on the causes of increasing poverty of India (see pp. 51-52). Pringle Kennedy said in moving the resolution : "First, we make the statement which I believe is nowhere doubted, that a great part of the people are in the deepest poverty. Millions, as we have been told, have not, from year's end to year's end, a sufficiency of food. From

one day to another they do not know, what every one of us knows everyday of his life, what it is to have their stomachs full. Actual starvation carries off a part ; but who can tell the millions carried off by diseases which are engendered and fostered by insufficient nourishment ? This mournful fact is acknowledged by all. Many responsible statesmen, in admitting it, argue that it is a law of nature—a huge population and an insufficient supply of food, and they come to the conclusion, that nothing can be done. For my part, I will never accept what I may call the philosophy of despair.”

Fourteen years before the start of the Swadeshi movement, Lala Murlidhar, pleader of Ambala, said in supporting the resolution: “Every rupee you have spent on Europe-made articles is a rupee of which you have robbed your poor brethren, honest handicraftsmen, who can now no longer earn a living. Of course I know that it was pure philanthropy which flooded India with English-made goods, and surely, if slowly, killed out every indigenous industry—pure philanthropy which, to facilitate this, repealed the import duties and flung away three crores a year of a revenue which the rich paid, and to balance this wicked sacrifice raised the salt tax, which the poor pay ; which is now pressing factory regulation on us, to kill if possible the one tiny new industrial departure India could boast. Oh, yes, it is all philanthropy, but the result is that from this cause, amongst others, your brethren are starving.” (Shame, shame).

He then gave some examples of high prices and poured ridicule on the policy of Free Trade. He observed : “Not thirty years ago wheat sold for $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds and gram for 2 maunds for the rupee, for our grain was not exported to foreign lands. Now it is six times as dear, and six times as hard for the poor to fill their bellies, because our philanthropists have conjured up the phantom of free trade to drain our granaries. Free trade, fair play between nations, how I hate the sham. What fair play in trade can there be between impoverished India and the bloated capitalist England ? As well talk of a fair fight between an infant and a strong man—a rabbit and a boa-constrictor. No doubt it is all in accordance with high economic science, but my friends remember this—this, too, is starving your brethren”.¹⁰

In 1892 the Congress passed the following resolution on the Poverty of India: “That this Congress emphatically re-affirms Resolu-

tion III of the Congress of 1891, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public service should be greatly reduced, and the measures should at once be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country which under the existing system of temporary settlements in recent times often lasting for short periods in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years is found to be impossible ; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this Congress again most earnestly entreates the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing doubtless well-intentioned but nonetheless unsatisfactory administration but to insist and that speedily on the reforms then and now so earnestly advocated." One cannot congratulate the framer of the resolution for its long, winding sentences, containing many unfelicitous expressions.

Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar in supporting this Resolution referred to a report of some official inquiries held in 1888 by the Government of India into the material condition of the Indian masses. The Report divided the people into four classes, of which the artisan class was the only one which did not suffer from insufficiency of food. The second class consisted of agriculturists having a right of occupancy in the land and holding over five acres. Mr. Cadell examined eight of them, seven of whom were found to have been living for some months upon one meal a day. Majority of those who held less than five acres of land as occupancy tenants, the Report said, went on for months and years on one meal a day and the Report added, with great satisfaction, that the people did not mind it. In the last class were agricultural labourers, regarding whom the Report was almost unanimous in saying that majority of them lived for months and months upon one meal a day. The Magistrates and Collectors, according to the said Report, found them 'thin but happy', 'thin but decent-looking and humorous.' Dar observed:

"Thus the Report is not lacking in humour. I think the time has long passed in India when the story of Nero fiddling when Rome was burning should be repeated." He added⁷ that the Report substantiated the melancholy dictum of Sir W. W. Hunter that forty millions of the people were constantly living upon the verge of starvation".¹¹

Food Problem and Increasing Cost

The Congress was as much perturbed by the food problem and the increasing cost of food stuff seventy years ago as it is today. In 1896 R. M. Sayani said from the Presidential chair that with a population of 22 crores in British India, the total quantity of food required, at the rate of 1½ lbs. per day per head, was 5.80 crores of tons, while the actual outturn of food crops could not be estimated at more than 5.75 crore tons. Had not 25 lakhs of tons of food crops been exported outside India, there would not have been much difficulty in meeting the deficit. He quoted the authority of Sir James Caird to show that India had no food-stock surplus to last even for ten days.¹² Next year C. Sankaran Nair said that according to the Madras Board of Revenue there was no grain in the Madras Presidency for 5 out of a population of 28 millions in normal times.¹³ He blamed the Ryotwary system for this state of affairs. He added: "The feeling is gaining ground, that the Government is morally responsible for the extreme poverty of the masses, for the scarcity that prevails almost every year in some part of the country or other, for the famine that so frequently desolates the land and claims more victims and creates more distress than under any civilised Government anywhere else in the world".¹⁴

In 1899 the great economist and experienced administrator, R. C. Dutt supported the contention of C. Sankaran Nair. With a surprising wealth of facts and figures he said that the real cause of famine was not overpopulation for the population does not increase faster than in European countries. Nor was it due to the improvidence of the cultivator who according to Dutt was as provident and frugal and shrewd in matters of his own interest as the cultivator in any part of the globe. He came to the conclusion that the real cause of the wretchedness and indebtedness of the cultivator, except in Bengal, and a few other tracts, was the land assessment, which was so heavy

that the cultivator was not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years. ¹⁶

R. C. Dutt also pointed out that in Madras in 1857 the proprietary right of the cultivator with fixity of assessment was admitted by Government, and that in 1882 under Lord Ripon's administration a virtual pledge was given that no enhancement would be allowed except on the ground of a rise in prices. But according to a passage in the Madras Standing Information Book of 1879 quoted in the *Hindu* that it was clear that the land tax estimated at one half the net produce should not exceed 40 per cent of gross produce where the land was irrigated at Government cost, and should not exceed 33 per cent in case of lands not so irrigated. He asked that under such circumstance one should not feel surprised at the repeated and disastrous famines in India and that a great deal of land had gone out of cultivation. He added that the rule in Madras was to demand one-half of the net produce, i.e. the value of the produce after deducting the cost of cultivation. He observed: "Gentlemen, I state it from my experience that such calculations cannot be accurately made, and that every mistake made is fatal to the cultivators". ¹⁶

R. C. Dutt contributed a series of open letters to the Press in 1900 and published them in the form of a book under the caption 'Open Letters to Lord Curzon'. In it he reiterated many of the views he had expressed from the Presidential Chair in the Congress. He said that as much as three millions of acres of land went out of cultivation in Madras on account of heavy assessment. Now the Madras Board of Revenue came forward with statistics to prove that Mr. Dutt was in error. The Board's views endorsed by the Madras Government 'sought to prove that the land assessment proper had not increased during the previous fifty years even in proportion to additional area brought under holding, that the tax per acre had decreased, and that the actual weight or proportion of produce had immensely diminished owing to the rise in prices'. ¹⁷

The Congress passed resolutions repeatedly, almost every year for the introduction of Permanent Settlement or fixity of assessment in all the areas where temporary settlement was prevalent. The Congress, however, did not take into consideration the huge number of tenants-at-will in every province in comparison with the number of proprietors and occupancy tenants. Even in Bengal most of the

tenants were little better than tenants-at-will. Joshi wrote in 1890 that while in the North West Provinces the Occupancy tenants numbered 1,500,000 and held 36.5 per cent of land, the tenants at will numbered 1,200,000 holding 33.5 per cent of land.¹⁸ In Bombay, according to him, only 35% of the Survey occupants enjoyed the restricted security of tenure and 65% were 'for all practical purposes a vast rack-rented Cottier tenantry without interest in their lands, holding on a precarious tenure and living in a hopeless condition of destitution.'¹⁹ The introduction of Permanent Settlement would have benefited the middle class people more than the majority of actual tillers of the soil.

Rise in Prices

G. V. Joshi contributed a long article to the *Indian Review* in October 1907 entitled Prices and Prosperity. In it he showed that the effective rupee circulation in India varied from 125 to 130 crores* and that over-issues tended to raise prices. He quoted figures to prove that in Bengal rice was selling at 25 8 seers per rupee in the quinquennium ending in 1865, at Rs. 20.8 in 1870, at 21.3 in 1875, at 18.0 in 1880, at 21.2 in 1885, at 18.3 in 1890, at 14.9 in 1895, at 13.3 in 1900 and 13.2 in 1905. As regards wheat it was selling in U. P. and C. P. at the following rates in quinquennium ending in the years—

Year	U. P.	C. P.
1865	22.6	29.1 seers per rupee
1870	17.3	15.0 " "
1875	18.9	25.5 " "
1880	18.1	21.4 " "
1885	19.8	29.1 " "
1890	16.1	20.0 " "
1895	14.9	17.6 " "
1900	12.6	13.2 " "
1905	14.5	16.6 " "

For the first time a resolution on the rise in price level was moved in 1908. C. Karunakara Menon said that the rise was not due to the advance of civilisation, to the increasing facilities of transport, to

* On March 11, 1966 the total amount of notes in circulation was Rs. 2890 crores.

increase in population or to a higher standard of living. He referred to Gokhale's explanation, according to which it was caused by the redundancy of currency. He, however, put forward the views of Dadabhai Naoroji, who attributed the hardship to the closure of the mints, which caused the Indian producer to, by reason of the restriction of currency, part with more of his produce than before for a rupee. Mudholkar, however, had said in his Presidential Address at the Industrial Conference that the rise in prices was caused by the shrinkage of the area of foodgrain cultivation. This, however, is not supported by the Agricultural statistics published by the Government of India. Menon held that the free export of foodgrains to foreign countries was the real reason of the rise in price level. He suggested the imposition of an export duty sufficiently high to retain in India a sufficient supply of foodgrains. With mild sarcasm he observed : "I know Englishmen are devoted to the free trade deity, but the principle of personal liberty, of freedom of public meeting, and of freedom of the press is as sacred to Englishmen as free trade. But exceptional necessity has reconciled them in India to the infringement of every one of these principles, and I hold that the economic problem created by the abnormal rise in prices is by no means less grave than any political problem which has confronted the Government. If it has become necessary to deport men without charge or trial, to prohibit public meetings without assigning reasons, to suppress newspapers by a special enactment, I fail to see why the English conscience should be shocked if a small departure is made in India from the principle of free trade in view of a similar necessity."¹⁰

Prof. Limaye said in seconding the resolution that the rise in price level affected the poor labourers in the fields and factories more than the big landlords, high salaried officials and rich merchants. The rise in the price of foodstuffs would adversely affect industrial production. "The rise means," he said, "increased cost of labour, which means again increased cost of production and consequent increased prices. And in these days of keen industrial rivalry the smallest increase in the price of a manufactured article is likely to seriously handicap our industrial development."

The next speaker, A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu raised several questions, which are puzzling the people of India even in 1966. He

asked whether the rise in price level was due to any of the following causes. Was it because the "commercial products such as oil seeds, jute, cotton, and sugar-cane find a ready market, that the ryots take to the cultivation of these more extensively in some parts ; or, is it because that capitalists monopolise the produce before or at the harvest time, by large advances to cultivators—sorely in need of money to meet the Circar Kist, collected under the most inelastic and rigid system ; or is it because that the ryots do not care to improve their lands and make them more fecunditive, on the ground they are deprived of the benefit of such improvements by the enhanced assessments imposed ; or, is it because that the cultivators fall into the grip of the greedy *sowcars*, who take large quantities in kind for the small advances made, in times of need and necessity ; or, is it because that some unsympathetic men, by greedily over-stocking, do not let into the market all the produce for the consumption of the people ; or, is it because capitalists largely export the monopolised produce to other countries ; or, is it because that the producers themselves keep the produce in stock, in anticipation of making large profits ; are questions worthy of inquiry by the benign Government.”²¹

Next year a resolution on the same subject was moved by the veteran Congressman Peter Paul Pillai, who had been making efforts to remove the hardship of Forest laws through the Mahajana Sabha even before the birth of the Congress. In his speech he referred to the result of a private enquiry made by Lord Dufferin in 1887, according to which the majority of the people of India were half-starved. He added : “The majority of the year 1887 has become a larger majority with increasing depression since the famine of 1900, which was pronounced by Lord Curzon to be the most terrible in the history of India. The agricultural income of the people is decreasing while starvation and the horrible consequence of starvation manifesting itself in disastrous famines with increasing frequency and virulence. Unfortunately in spite of its vast resources, India has become *par excellence* the land of starvation, the land of hunger and the land of famines.” Had this been true the population of the country would have rapidly decreased and the longevity of the people would have been very much shortened. The speaker ascribed the high prices and famine condition partly to the forest laws, paucity

of irrigation facilities and to the high assessment. With characteristic tendency to exaggerate the miseries of the people, he said that according to the evidence of the landholders of Tanjore, the best irrigated district in India, the net income from an acre of land was Rs. 3, but the net assessment was Rs. 9 per acre.²²

Professor V. G. Kale, the doyen of Indian Economists, seconded the resolution with a brief but thought-provoking speech. He said : "We are told that instead of making the rise of prices a cause of complaint, we ought to congratulate ourselves on the high prices that we have had for the last ten years and more. It is said that high prices indicate the prosperity of the country. It is said that high prices mean larger profits and larger wages to the people and, therefore, people on account of the higher prices are likely to be happier now than they were before. Whether this view of the matter that has been taken in certain quarters is right or wrong can be seen by the fact that although in some places the rates of wages are higher than in others, yet this rise in wages even there has not been in proportion to the rise in prices and consequently those people do not derive all the advantages due to the rise in prices."

Mr. Wacha in a brief speech categorically stated that the currency question was at the very root of the rise in prices. He asked the members of the Congress to read an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and contributed by Atkinson, the Accountant General of the United Provinces.²³

On reading all these discussions on the high prices prevailing in 1908-1909 those who have got more or less fixed income today feel tempted to pray for the return of those bad old days.

Free Trade vs. Protection

It is rather amazing to find that the Congress did not pass any resolution demanding the adoption of a policy of protection during the first thirty-three years of its existence. In 1905 the Banaras Congress called upon the people to make earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice. This resolution, with slight variations, was reiterated in subsequent sessions. But the Government was not called upon to substitute Free Trade policy by Protection. In the midst of the First World War, when imports from

abroad had to be greatly reduced the Congress passed a resolution in 1915 stating that the British Government should concede to the Government of India complete fiscal freedom with regard to import, export and exoise duties. The same session of the Congress passed another resolution asking the Government to adopt special measures for helping the industrial development of India. It did not suggest the adoption of protective policy. Besides the opening of technological institutes, and the setting up of an Industrial Advisory Committee, it demanded the removal of the artificial barriers like Excise duties on cotton goods and the differential rates for Railway consignment.

Ranade in his memorable speech at the Deccan College in 1892 showed that the policy of Free Trade did considerable harm to India. By making a skilful use of List's book *The National System of Political Economy*, he demonstrated how the protection of home industries against English competition was sought to be achieved by a protective tariff in advanced countries like France, Germany and the U. S. A. He held that India with her backward and undiversified economy required much greater assistance from the state for her industrial development than was the case in United Kingdom. But such a demand was not put forward from the Congress platform.

The reason for the absence of a resolution to this effect was the apprehension entertained by a number of Congressmen that an unscrupulous use might be made of a protective policy by the British in India. Soon after the Calcutta session of the Congress, Gokhale said in his Lucknow speech on the Swadeshi Movement : "England forced on us the policy of Free Trade, i. e., of leaving the door wide open to the competition of the whole world." But in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council he said that a policy of Free Trade, reasonably applied, was the safest policy. He explained that otherwise "influential interests, influential combinations, influential parties in England, who can have ready access to the Secretary of State, to whom we have no access, will not fail to take the fullest advantage of the situation; and this huge engine of protection, which is a vast power will be employed, not in the interests of the people of India, but in the interests of those parties." The apprehension was expressed more frankly eight years earlier by Sachchidananda Sinha in the *Hindustan Review* in November, 1903 in the following words : "With the present political and economic subjection of India to

England, the adoption of a policy of Protection is most likely to be abused in favour of the Anglo-Indian producers and alien exploiters generally and the struggle will be between the British capitalist and the foreign capitalist and not between the Indians on the one hand and all aliens on the other."

A scholar has recently pointed out that the economic ideas and policies of the Indian nationalists often went against the narrow interests of those who lived in cities, were educated and employed, mostly in Government service.* But he overlooks the fact that the first beneficiaries of the growth of Cotton Mill Industry were men like D. E. Wacha and Pherozechah Mehta, who had a big hand in the direction of the policy of the Congress.

* "They opposed the removal of cotton import duties, though the 'middle class' was the chief consumer of foreign cloth; they supported protection for industries even though its price would be ultimately borne by this class ; many of them supported the countervailing duties on beet sugar even though beet sugar was consumed mostly by this class; they preached *Swadeshi*, though foreign goods were cheaper, they supported the falling rupee even though it meant that as buyers of imported goods the members of this class had to pay more, and as earners of fixed income the members educated and employed stood to gain from any increase in the purchasing power of the rupee and to lose by a decrease in its purchasing power." (Dr. Bipin Chandra : *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism*, 1966)

CHAPTER XIII

CONGRESS ON JUDICIAL REFORMS AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The Indian National Congress proved to be the stoutest champion of civil liberty. The educated class imbibed the spirit of liberty through their study of British history, literature and political philosophy. But in their actual experience they found the British officers haughty, arrogant and utterly callous to the so-called rights of the people. They were generally intolerant of the least sign of opposition and any one, however high his position in society, who incurred their displeasure was harassed and humiliated by them in the name of justice. Raja Surya Kant Acharya Chaudhury of Muktagachha, Mymensingh, had donated one hundred and twelve thousand and five hundred rupees (Rs. 1,12,500) for the water-works of the town of Mymensingh, but his influence and popularity roused the jealousy of the British District Magistrate. He was dragged to the Court in June 1892, made to stand in the dock along with a thief on a frivolous charge of obstructing the flow of water in the municipal drain. He was fined Rs. 500 but on appeal the Judge acquitted the Raja of the offence of mischief. He held that public nuisance had been committed by the Raja but he did not like to convict on that charge. Thus the Raja was given no possible means of redress before the High Court, as that Court could not be moved against a verdict of acquittal. As Sir Charles Elliot, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to whom a Memorial was submitted by the Raja, did not even strongly censure the conduct of the Magistrate and the trying officer, the attention of the House of Lords was drawn towards the matter by Lord Stanley of Alderley on the 8th May, 1893. Earl of Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India said in course of the debate : "I agree entirely with Sir Richard Garth, that it is highly undesirable that the Judicial and Executive powers should be united in one person". Viscount Cross, Lord Kimberley's predecessor in office, said : "It is a matter of the greatest importance in regard to the main principle involved, that is uniting the Executive and Judicial functions. It is a

matter which I was anxious to deal with myself. What the noble Earl opposite has said is perfectly true, that in the present state of the finances of India it is quite impossible to carry on this improvement, which would be of vast benefit to India, if it would be effected".¹ The whole question was studied anew in 1920 by R. N. Gilchrist, I. E. S. But despite the findings of the two successive Secretaries of State for India belonging to two opposite parties, he came to the conclusion that "Modern theory demands the separation of the present executive and judicial functions, though past experience does not show the presence of abuses which necessitate such 'reform'".² Such a conclusion fails to assess the depth of feeling of the people. No other feature of the British rule inflicted so much of injury and insult to the sense of self-respect of the people as the exercise of judicial functions by the Magistrate, and especially by the Sub-divisional officers and Deputy Magistrates, who had to take direction from the District Officer.

The case of Keshab Lal Mitra, a clerk in the employ of a Zamindar in the district of Khulna, illustrates this point best. This man was informed on the 19th July, 1894, that Mr. B., the Magistrate and Collector of Khulna, would be passing through his village at about 10.30 next morning. He was asked to keep ready certain provisions in the shape of fowls, eggs and milk for the Collector, and to provide also food for his horse and groom. He did keep these things ready but as regards milk he preferred to secure two milch cows, so that Mr. B on his arrival might be supplied with fresh milk. The Collector arrived next morning at 8.30 instead of 10.30 a. m. He went up to the Zamindar's house of which Keshab was in charge, looked at the poultry eggs and asked for the Naib. On being told that the Naib had gone to the headquarters B asked Keshab : "Who are you ?" The latter replied that he was a *mohurir* or clerk and immediately the Collector struck him with a cane drawing blood. Keshab asked what his offence was, whereupon he received about 14 cuts on his person, as a result of which he fell down in a swoon. Mr. B. walked out of the place without taking any notice of the injured man, who placed himself under the treatment of a medical practitioner and suffered from fever for ten days. Soon after his recovery he went to Khulna town and on the 30th July presented a petition before the Deputy Magistrate, Babu S. C. B., who was then in magisterial charge of Khulna,

charging B with having caused injury and with criminal trespass. The Deputy Magistrate examined Keshab on oath, according to law, but after an hour he dismissed the complaint on two grounds, firstly, that the case was one of *too trivial a nature* on the face of it, manifestly false. As no copy of the Deputy Magistrate's order was supplied to him, Keshab applied on the 1st of August for a copy and he got it. Meanwhile the Collector, who was then in the interior of the district, having heard of the case wrote a personal letter to the Sessions Judge, in which he stated : "I am just informed that a Zamindar's *Mohurir*, whom I struck the week before last, brought a case of assault yesterday against me before the Deputy Magistrate in charge ; that the Deputy Magistrate (wrongly and foolishly) dismissed the case, and that a motion has been made before you. If this is so, please set aside the order under section 203, and order a retrial anywhere you want. I quite admit striking the man : I was in the middle of a 40-mile ride and had sent word a day before to the Zamindar's *Cutchery* to have a glass of milk for me (which I would have paid for several times over if desired. I did actually give an old woman 10 miles further on, a rupee for a glass of milk). I found no milk and being very hot and thirsty, and having a little cane in my hand, I regret to say that I lost my temper and struck the *Mohurir* several times. Any man might have done the same, though I freely admit that I was wrong." Keshab moved the High Court. On hearing this the Collector apologised to Keshab, who on the advice of his Counsel, did not proceed with the matter further.

Many such cases occurred frequently. These led the Congress to press upon the authorities the urgency of the need of separating the judicial from the executive functions. The Congress passed as many as eighteen resolutions—the largest ever passed on any specific object of reform—between 1886 and 1911. The matter was brought up for the first time before the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1886. Daji Abaji Khare said : "The existing system violates the very first principle of jurisprudence, for if you invest the executive as now, with judicial powers, you in fact make that executive prosecutor as well as judge ; nay, as a large number of offences are, were transgressions of rules and regulations of the executive, you go further in such cases and make this executive as judge, as it were, of its own case". He further pointed out that the Magistrates, busy with multifarious

activities had no time to deliberate calmly on the judicial work that came before them.

In seconding the resolution Munshi Kashi Prasad of Allahabad said that 'under the existing system the same man dismissed your civil suit and then tried you criminally for making a false verification or bringing a false suit'. Babu Sriram of Oudh said that very recently several cases came up for revision in which the District Officers in their executive capacities served writs of demand against revenue defaulters under magistrates, arraigned the defaulters under section 188 and in their judicial capacities fined them. The fines, however, were remitted by the highest court, to whom the appeal had been made. Thus unnecessary hardship was caused to the people by the union of judicial and executive functions.

In 1887 a Madras lawyer of great experience, N. Subramaniam delivered a long speech on the subject. He said that combination of the two functions in the same person set aside all the safeguards which the rules of evidence had provided for the due administration of justice. In concluding his speech he said that this measure was realized "as an imperative necessity by one great reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy (cheers)"⁵. Rao Saheb K. Venkata Row, a retired second-class Magistrate and Deputy Tehsildar said: "Official decorum will not permit me to state in what manner external pressure was brought upon me continually by my superior officers, beginning from the District Magistrate and down to the Superintendent of Police, and how I was virtually threatened with dismissal, criminal prosecution, and what not, at one time or another, in order to induce me to divert the course of justice and modify the procedure that ought to have been followed according to the rules of law".⁶

At the Nagpur session of the Congress in 1891, Purnendu Narayan Sinha, the eminent lawyer, public man and theosophist of Patna, moved an omnibus resolution demanding complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions, extension of Jury system, the withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries and the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in Warrant Cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions. He pointed out that the East India Company did not support the union

of functions. In 1805 it was enacted that the Chief Justice was not to be a member of the Supreme Council, in order, as the preamble to the Regulation stated, that the separation of the judicial from the executive authority in all their gradation and branches might be carried into full operation. In 1831 the Court of Directors sanctioned the separation of the offices of Collector and Magistrate. But the offices were again united in 1872.

As regards the Jury system he observed that in 1862 Jury system was introduced in seven districts in Bengal, and seven districts in Madras. In 1867 it was introduced in one district only in Bombay. There had been no extension of the Jury system anywhere since that date. In reply to those who spoke about the abuses of Jury trial he asked : "What about the infinitely greater abuses in trials without juries by civilian Magistrates and Judges ?" As to the withdrawal from the High Courts the power of setting aside the verdict of acquittal by juries he quoted the observation of Mr. Justice West in a case in the Bombay High Court to the effect that "the verdicts of juries ought not to be interfered with, first on the constitutional ground that it was not proper to take away powers from those in whose hands they were originally vested by the Legislature, and second that any undue interference might and must interfere with the Jurymen's sense of respectability".⁷

J. Chaudhury reminded the Congress in 1897 that Manomohan Ghosh, who enjoyed the largest and longest criminal practice in Bengal, devoted thirty years of his life in making an excellent case for the separation of the judiciary from the executive. Yet this reform had not been carried out. Mr. Chaudhury explained the predicament in which the Sub-Magistrates were placed. "If the sentence is lenient" he said, "the District Magistrate comes down upon the Sub-Magistrate and asks him why the sentence was so lenient. And then again if there were fewer convictions the Sub-Magistrate has to submit an explanation, so that he has to administer law under terror, and before this terror is taken away the administration of criminal justice can not be considered to be satisfactory"⁸. In seconding the resolution C. H. Setalvad said that the principle underlying the resolution had received the support of two eminent Secretaries of State belonging to both the parties. But the reform had not been carried out on the plea that it would entail additional expenditure

which the country was not in a position to bear. But Pheroze Shah Mehta and Romesh Chandra Dutt formulated two schemes in which they pointed out that the reform could be carried out without any additional expenditure. Setalvad remarked that the authorities chose to shelve the matter. "And to my mind the real truth lies in the fact that the executive authorities see in this reform the curtailment of their uncontrolled power and therefore they do not wish to carry out this reform".⁹

In supporting the Resolution in 1899 Sachchidananda Sinha said that Manomohan Ghosh had collected many cases from his own criminal practice, showing how the people suffer under the existing system. The speaker had no doubt that each and all the legal practitioners on the criminal side would be able to compile a pamphlet to show how unfairly the system worked. In conclusion he said that by separating the two functions, the Indian Government would not lose prestige at all, but in fact it would be quite the other way. "The Government would be enhancing its popularity by carrying out this reform ; they would be broad-basing their rule upon the sympathy and goodwill of the people".¹⁰

His speech was received so favourably that next year at the Lahore session he was entrusted with the task of moving the resolution. He ably controverted the propositions made by Sir Charles Elliot, who held the post of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for some years. In course of an article contributed to the *Asiatic Quarterly* Sir Charles Elliot asserted that the great merit of the then existing system was that it was compatible with oriental genius. The mover said that had this been the case, there would not have been so much opposition to it both inside the Congress and outside. As regards the observation made by Sir John Strachey to the effect that what was good for England was not suitable for India, Mr. Sinha pointed out that Strachey himself had admitted that the combination of two functions was objectionable in the case of Deputy Commissioners of non-regulation provinces. If so, what justification could there be for vesting the Collector and Magistrate with judicial powers ? As regards the objection on the score of expenses he said : "Our distinguished countryman, Mr. R.C. Dutt, placed before the Government a scheme which clearly showed that, so far as Bengal was concerned, without adding to the burden of the

people, without levying any taxation, the Government by a mere redistribution of their officers, could bring about the reform in no time. As far as the Bombay Province is concerned, our distinguished champion Mr. P. M. Mehta, has submitted a scheme which is on all fours with Mr. Dutt's scheme. If these schemes are given a trial, they will show to Government that without adding to the burdens of the people, the reform can be introduced at no distant dates".¹¹

At the Banaras session of the Congress Romesh Chandra Dutt gave an effective reply to the objections usually raised by the bureaucrats in India. He pointed out that while in British India the question of separation of powers still remained unsolved, in the State of Baroda, a complete separation had been effected between the Judicial and Executive duties. He observed : "It is often said that, that to take away judicial powers from the District Officer would lower his prestige and the prestige of the British rule which he represents. The very contrary of this is the fact. It is the combination of Executive and Judicial powers in the District Officer which lowers the prestige of the British rule in India—to separate those functions would heighten the prestige of the British Government and make it more popular in India. I am sure if the District Officer was relieved of his judicial functions, if he devoted the whole of his time to Executive work, to watching the condition of the people in villages, ministering to their wants, improving their condition, fostering their agriculture and trade, encouraging their manufactures, constructing roads and tanks, and in all ways representing the wishes and aspirations of the people—he would be a far more popular and useful officer, and the alien Government which he represents would be far more in touch with the people. It is a political blunder, as the Government will find out before long, to arm the Chief Executive Officer with the powers of Police and the Magistracy, to place him along the people as their dreaded punisher instead of as their representative and friend, and to forge a link of affection between the people and the Government".¹²

In 1906 occurred the Barisal case of Surendra Nath Banerjea and it demonstrated once again the despotic conduct of the District Magistrate while trying a suit. Surendranath himself has given a brief account of the case in his autobiography, *A Nation in Making*,

written shortly before his death. But a fuller account is available from the Calcutta Weekly Notes of the very year of occurrence.

Surendranath along with many other eminent persons went to Barisal to attend the Bengal Provincial Conference on the 14th and 15th April, 1906. On the afternoon of the 14th they assembled at a private compound known as Raja Bahadur's Haveli with a view to conducting Mr. A. Rasul, M. A., B. C. L. (Oxon.), the President of the Conference to the pandal. While the President and his British wife started for the pandal from the Haveli in a carriage, Surendranath and other delegates followed it on foot in rows of two or three. When they had proceeded about one hundred yards, one of the delegates came running up to Surendranath and informed him that the Police were indiscriminately assaulting the delegates who were some way behind with *lathis*. Surendranath went back to find that the information was true and on meeting Mr. K., the District Superintendent of Police on the spot, told him : "Why are you beating these men ? They have done nothing wrong. If you think they have done anything wrong you may arrest them. I am willing to take the whole responsibility on myself. You may arrest me if you like." On this Surendranath was arrested by K. without being told on what charge he was arrested. Thereupon, Bhupendranath Bose, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and Moti Lal Ghose, Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, offered themselves to be arrested. But they were told by K. that his orders were to arrest Surendranath alone. The latter was taken to the house of Emerson, the District Magistrate of Bakherganj. He was accompanied by Aswini Kumar Datta and Behari Lal Ray up to the room of the Magistrate, who at once shouted out at Datta and Ray : "Get away, you are not properly dressed. I won't be insulted, you have not got *pagris* on". These two then left the room. When Surendranath was drawing a chair to seat himself, the Magistrate suddenly shouted in an offensive tone, "Stand up, you are a prisoner". Surendranath replied that he had not come there to be insulted and he remained standing. Emerson then recorded the statement of the Superintendent of Police, which chiefly consisted of answers to the questions put to him by the Magistrate himself. No information was given to Surendranath as to the charge he was called upon to answer or for which he had been brought before him nor was he told for what offence he was being tried. While taking

down Mr. K's statement the Magistrate said : "This is disgraceful", referring to the conduct of Surendranath as also to that of Behari Lal and Aswini Kumar. Surendranath protested against the Magistrate's remarks as one that ought not to have come from the Court. On hearing this the Magistrate said in a loud voice, "Keep quiet. This is contempt of Court and I shall draw up contempt proceedings against you". He then wrote something on a piece of paper, which was not read over nor was its purport communicated to Surendranath. He simply said, "You are fined Rs. 200 for contempt of Court." Then at the suggestion of another European Magistrate who was present in the room, Emerson informed Surendranath that if he apologised, the fine would be remitted ; but the latter did not agree to this. Then the Magistrate drew up proceedings against Surendranath under section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code directing him to give security for keeping peace. This order was at once made absolute and Surendranath was asked to produce his surety. Behari Lal Ray offered to stand surety but Surendranath protested that he could not be bound down by an executive order and that a judicial order was necessary. The Magistrate was apparently convinced and nothing further was heard of this surety order again.

The Magistrate then took up and finished recording K's statement which had remained unfinished. It appeared later from Surendranath's petition and affidavit in the High Court that the Magistrate did not record K's statement that when K. saw Surendranath, he was doing nothing and was not shouting *Vande Mataram*—apparently because such statement was favourable to the accused. The Magistrate then asked Surendranath as to what he had got to say. He made a statement and prayed for an adjournment in order to have legal assistance to cross-examine K and to enter upon his defence. The Magistrate refused the adjournment in spite of the fact that the day was a holiday. The Magistrate then told Surendranath that he was fined Rs. 200 under section 188 Indian Penal Code for disobedience of an order duly promulgated by a public servant.

There was an appeal to the Sessions Judge of Bakherganj against the conviction for contempt of Court and another against the conviction under section 188 of the I. P. Code. The appeal against the conviction for contempt was dismissed and with reference to the other appeal

the case was sent back to the first court for the cross-examination of K. and for taking further evidence. Surendranath moved the High Court against the conviction for contempt of Court. The conviction was set aside. The High Court took strong objection to the adding of certain words three days later to the proceedings by the Magistrate in the absence of the accused and without notice to him.^{12(a)} This case produced a great sensation throughout the country. If a great public leader, who had been the President of Congress twice, could be treated by a young Executive Officer in such a high-handed fashion, there would be no liberty and security for ordinary citizens. Resolutions demanding separation of functions were passed by the Congress even when it fell under the control of the Moderates. The form, however, was not introduced till the achievement of independence. Even now it has not been found possible to effect a total separation of the two functions.

The Congress passed many resolutions on the extension of the Jury system. The lawyers in the Congress sought to make the verdict of the Jury final in all cases. But today the Jury system stands discredited. The Jury Committee, appointed by the Bihar Government in July 1950 and presided over by Mr. Justice S. K. Das with two eminent lawyers and two district judges as members, recommended in July 1951 that offences punishable with death or transportation for life and sexual offences of all kinds should, for the time being, be excluded from the classes of cases which are triable by Jury. "The Committee has been impressed," states the report, "by the almost consensus of opinion that the system of trial by jury has in actual practice resulted in unsatisfactory verdicts—sometimes even in miscarriage of justice—in the prevailing conditions of selection of jurors."¹³

The Congress considered the appointment of Covenanted civilians to District Judgeship and Joint Judgeship unsuitable because they had no legal training. But some of the I. C. S. Judges had been eminently successful.

Freedom of the Press

From the very beginning a large number of influential journalists joined the Congress. They as well as their lawyer colleagues championed the cause of freedom of the Press. A curious and rather amazing situation arose in the Bombay session of the Congress in

1915 when Sir S. P. Sinha, the President of the Congress, was criticised for what he had said in the Imperial Legislative Council as the Law Member, in support of the Press Act of 1910. The renowned journalist, B. G. Horniman referred to this in course of moving the resolution (XVII) on the Press Act. He referred to the prosecution of the journal named *Comrade*, edited by Mahomed Ali and said that Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the then Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court mentioned in his judgment that it was impossible for the Court even to consider whether the words that had been published came under the description given in the Act of words that should not be published. Horniman observed : "Well, as to that, we had a very clear promise not only from the Government, but what makes it more interesting and more important to us, from the then Law Member of the Government who is here with us today, as our President and who, speaking on behalf of Government, gave what can only be regarded as a definite assurance, as an actual promise, that what actually happened two, three or four years afterwards in the High Court of Calcutta could not possibly happen under the provisions of the Bill, and that it was not the desire of the Government that it should happen. I am going to quote his words. He said, 'It is of no use to attempt to convince us that it is a very drastic measure, because we feel that it is not'. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to say anything that might be embarrassing to our President (laughter) and I am not going to ask him to answer any question that I may put to him, but I ask him here publicly without wishing him to answer it, merely for the sake of getting down a fact—I ask whether he could lay his hand on his heart today and say as fervently and as eloquently as he said on that occasion,—and he spoke very fervently and very eloquently. I was there to hear him and I know what an enormous impression he made upon the Council—I ask him to say whether he or any one else can honestly say today that it is not a very drastic measure, that he is sure it is not a very drastic measure. Then he went on and said : 'We have put in all kinds of safeguards.' Well, ladies and gentlemen, as I have just told you, as soon as we got into the High Court the safeguards disappeared (hear, hear). 'When the Local Government,' he (Sinha) continued 'makes an order of forfeiture, the Bill provides that it must state or describe the offending articles or words, pictures or engravings or whatever it is,

upon which it passes its order. No making of an order which is vague, which is indefinite, no order without allowing the man to know what he is being punished for, but a definite order stating the very words of the article, describing it as the one which the man is being punished for.' Ladies and gentlemen, there has not been one "Comrade" case or two or three cases, but there have been dozens of cases since this in which the executive authority, taking advantage of the judgment of the High Court have deliberately belied the undertaking that was given on behalf of the Government of India by the then Law Member of the Council (*cries of "shame"*). I ask the Government of Lord Hardinge whether it does not rest upon them as a solemn obligation to remove from the Statute Book this Act which is not the things they promised."¹⁴ K. N. Aiyar in supporting the resolution said: "I venture to assert before you that I do not think that Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha is proud of his work on that occasion" (*Loud laughter in which the President also joined*).¹⁵

In 1916 C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar moved the resolution and said that the larger aspect of the question had been dealt with by Milton in his *Areopagitica*. The speech he delivered on this occasion is so very important that it deserves to be quoted *in extenso*. "If you read the history of the Indian Press from the year 1780 for ten years or so there are several deportations and official censorship because some of the papers criticised not official acts but the doings of specific officers. Some time later—about 1835—came the emancipation of the Indian Press, and for a long time the Indian Press enjoyed a liberty which it did not abuse in any manner. I shall not deal with the history of the Press until 1908 when the Newspaper Incitement to Offences Act was passed. Even in that Act, passed during a moment of crisis, there are safeguards and adequate preventives for thoughtless executive action which are absent in the latest Act of 1910. In the Act of 1908, there is a provision that action should be taken only on the initiative of a local Government and provision was also made for appeals to the High Court. Coming to the Act of 1910, you know what has been happening of late. The Act of 1910 has proved a serious menace, as the resolution proclaims, to the liberty of the Indian Press. The giving of security, the placing of a Press under official rigour and control is the normal feature, the rule rather than the exception; and, according to the recent judicial

pronouncements, that action is absolutely uncontrolled. You will find if you look to the record of that case in which Mrs. Besant was concerned that a Magistrate is a kind of—I will not say, benevolent but—malevolent despot. What he does is practically beyond the pale of criticism or cavil in a court of law. The High Court of Madras felt incumbent upon itself to pronounce that the Magistrate purporting to act under the Press Act had outstripped his limits and his jurisdiction, but their Lordships said that they were powerless to revise his order. You will find, reading that Act through, that there are provisions of ingenious perversity which makes it clear that the executive is at liberty to work its will and pleasure on the Indian Press.”¹⁶ All these arguments and pleadings, however, failed to produce any tangible result. In spite of restrictions the Press in India has played a magnificent role in the freedom movement of the country.

CHAPTER XIV

SOME INTERESTING FEATURES OF THE CONGRESS

I. Educational Background of Some Congressmen

Brilliant academic career does not necessarily portend distinction in public life, and conversely, failure or poor result at University examination does not invariably mean an inglorious existence. University examiners sometimes make silly mistakes in assessing the merit of a candidate. Lal Mohan Ghosh, for example, was a brilliant student of the Krishnagore School. He was especially strong in English literature and yet to the utter surprise of his Headmaster he got plucked in English at the Entrance examination in 1865. The European Headmaster of the School wrote a personal letter to the European Registrar of the Calcutta University asking him to see whether there had been any mistake in tabulating the marks. The Registrar did look into the case and reported that the candidate had not answered the questions on grammar for which the major portion of marks had been set apart. Next year Lal Mohan topped the list of successful candidates in English, probably because he devoted some time to the rules of grammar.¹ A contemporary journalist writes about Lal Mohan : "He has many a time appeared on the same platform with John Bright and the British verdict is that he has not suffered in comparison. Free from gesticulations, with admirable command of words and possessing a voice which he modulates with wonderful effect, Mr. Lal Mohan Ghosh produces an excellent impression whenever he speaks."² But it is curious to note that such a brilliant orator did not command a good practice at the Bar. His elder brother Mono Mohan Ghosh said that Lalu, as he was affectionately called, did not like the profession of Law.

Mono Mohan Ghosh was one of the luminaries of the Calcutta Bar. He was an all-round scholar, who showed equal proficiency in Sanskrit, Arabic and English literature. He sat at the I. C. S. examination in 1865 and secured even higher marks than Satyendra Nath Tagore who had passed the same examination two years

earlier*. ^{2(a)} But on account of the arbitrary changes in the marks and rules for evaluating the answerbooks Mono Mohan got plucked at the examination. His failure, however, proved a real blessing to him and to the country. He was an active Congressman. His speeches and writings on the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive have been quoted as authoritative by all writers and speakers on the subject.

The famous Lal-Bal-Pal did not fare well at the University examinations. Lala Lajpat Rai states that in the Punjab University Entrance examination he submitted a blank answerbook in Arabic Grammar and was equally ignorant in Physical Science. Yet he passed the examination in 1880, occupying the 53rd position out of 106 successful candidates. He also appeared at the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University and passed in the First Division³. But due to his poverty, chronic illness and preoccupation with activities in connection with the Arya Samaj he got plucked at the First Arts Examination. He was also studying for Vakilship examination at the same time. He got plucked twice at this examination too, the second time for want of three marks only. How he passed the examination ultimately may best be told in his own words: "The examination was again very stiff, and besides the story was current that the Registrar was not in the habit of letting through candidates unless they were well versed in all subjects. On such an occasion I spent Rs. 200 and learnt that I was successful in the Law

* Subject	Marks secured by Tagore in 1863	Marks secured by Ghose in 1865
English Composition	125 out of 500	300
English Literature and History including that of Laws and Constitution	385 out of 1000	448
French	158 out of 375	146
Moral Science (that is, Logic, Mental and Moral Philosophy)	178 out of 500	300
Sanskrit	381 out of 500	261
Arabic	347 out of 500	341
<u>Total</u>	<u>1574</u> <u>3375</u>	<u>1796</u>

The total number of marks was reduced in 1865 to 3125 by reducing the total in Arabic and Sanskrit to 375 each.

examination".⁴ At the Bar he rose to the top by his merit and merit alone. His contribution to the political thought of India is remarkable.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak secured a first class at the B. A. examination. But when he appeared at the M.A. examination in Mathematics in 1877 he got plucked. Some of his biographers apologetically state that he was busy with preparations for his Law examination and, therefore, could not achieve success. But he passed the LL. B. examination two years later, in 1879. Kelkar writes that he appeared again at the M. A. examination 'five or six years later without success.' It is nothing short of an irony of fate that the future author of the *Orion* and the *Arctic Home of the Aryans* which display so much erudition in Astronomy should get plucked in Mathematics.

Bipin Chandra Pal, who was one of the most erudite and versatile scholars, writes in his Memoirs that he passed the Entrance examination in the Third Division in 1874, but as Assam, his home region, was educationally backward, he got a junior scholarship for prosecuting higher studies at the Presidency College, Calcutta. He became so much involved in socio-religious activities that he could devote little time to his studies. He got plucked twice, in 1874 and 1879, at the First Arts Examination. But he had established such a reputation for scholarship that the authorities of the Cuttack Academy, a High English School, appointed him the Head Master of their institution in 1879, when he was barely twenty-one years of age. High academic qualification was not insisted upon in those days even for Lectureship in the College. Both Gokhale and Tilak became Lecturers of Fergusson College with their B. A. degree. Surendranath Banerjee, too, used to teach History and English Literature, though he was not an M. A.

Sri Aurobindo had a brilliant academic career, by virtue of which he became the Professor and later on Vice-Principal of the Baroda College. But he himself writes that technically he was not a B. A. He did not graduate at Cambridge. He passed high in the First Part of the Tripos (First Class); it is on passing this First Part that the degree of B. A. is usually given, but as he had only two years at his disposal, he had to pass it in his second year at Cambridge; and the First Part gives the degree only if it is taken in the third year; if one takes it in the second year one has to appear for the

Second Part of the Tripos in the fourth year to qualify for the degree. He might have got the degree, if he had made an application for it, but he did not care to do so. ⁶

A higher or lower position in the list of successful candidates does not determine the relative position in public life later on. In 1880 Heramba Chandra Maitra stood First in the First Class at the M. A. examination in English; Bhupendranath Basu got a second class in the same subject that very year. But the latter became not only the President of the Congress but also the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, of which the former was a part-time Lecturer. Another Congressman, Provas Chandra Mitra got the last position in the Third Class at the M. A. examination in History in 1894. But he rose to become an eminent lawyer and the Minister of Education in Bengal.

While the majority of Congressmen had the most ordinary academic career, a few like Ananda Mohan Bose and Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpe were the most brilliant products of the University.

II. Lighter Side of the Life of Congress

Some amusing incidents and personalities occasionally enlivened the usually grave proceedings of the Congress. At the Madras session in 1887, J. Dharma Ranga Raju, a student of an Agricultural College came forward to support the resolution on Technical Education with a written speech. He was but following the precedent set by the mover of the resolution Sir Savalai Ramasvami Mudaliar, a prosperous merchant, who had read out his written speech. But this humble student evoked laughter when he read out : "Gentlemen, in heartily thanking you for the kindness with which you have greeted me" (the official report states, within brackets, 'roars of laughter—the speaker not having been greeted at all').⁷ He continued to read out his speech even after this discomfiture but as nobody could hear or understand him, he had to stop.

Next year Raja Shiv Prasad, who belonged to the Education Department of the North Western Provinces and was nominated to the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1882, created a scene at the Allahabad Congress. He belonged to the opposite camp and wanted to bring discredit on the Congress. He was stopped with great difficulty from making any mischief. The *India* published with evident delight the following news regarding his boycott by the

washermen of Banaras : "At a meeting of the Municipality the Raja proposed that washermen be compelled to pay a pice per bundle of clothes before they are allowed to wash them in the sacred Ganges. On hearing this hundreds of these poor people assembled in the Town Hall compound to protest against the fresh taxation. The Raja asked the magistrate to turn the *Dhobis* out of the compound. The *Dhobis*, seeing the attitude of the Raja and the officials, left the compound, and again met at their *Panchayat*. The *Sarpanch* proposed, and it was unanimously resolved to boycott the Raja. All members of the fraternity were warned that if any one of them dared to wash for the Raja he would be out-casted for twelve years and fined Rs. 50 on being readmitted into caste at the end of that time."⁸

Raja Rampal Singh, as has already been related, had the most strikingly original character. He was a fearless patriot. He related at the Madras session in 1894 the following incident which took place on the eve of the Congress session at Allahabad in 1888 : "I incurred the great odium of Sir Auckland Colvin. I had been the only Taluqdar favourably disposed to the Congress. I was advised by his Honour, and urged not to have anything to do with the movement. I was told that it was a movement hostile to Government."⁹ Pillai writes : "To see Raja Rampal is ever to know him. But, for once I was puzzled. I had seen him familiarly in his English dress, short coat, collar, necktie, hat and all; but attending a social gathering one night, I saw a short and well-made figure in gold and velvet, dressed in oriental profusion, with diamonds and pearls all over. That was Raja Rampal by night; the other was Raja Rampal by day. The one was Raja Rampal at a political meeting, the other was Raja Rampal at a social gathering."¹⁰ Nagendranath Gupta comments on his accent : "It was as outrageous and incorrigible as his Rajput courage was undeniable and invincible. He was not the man to hide his light under a bushel, and no audience and no platform ever cowed him. Once on the Congress platform he burst out, 'Gentlemen, membersh of Counshil vote from which shide wind blowsh.'¹¹

III. Lady Delegates at the Congress

The Congress ceased to be the monopoly of the male sex as early as the fourth session in Bombay. The Introductory portion of the Report of the Bombay Congress, 1889 contains the following interesting particulars about the lady delegates : "At first we must notice no

less than ten lady delegates graced the assembly, one elected by men at a public meeting, the others by various Ladies' Associations—the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Bengal Ladies' Association and the Arya Mahila Samaj. They included European and Native Christians, a Parsee, an orthodox Hindu and three Brahmo Samaj ladies. With one exception they were ladies who have for years done good work for India. It is sufficient to mention Pandita Ramabai's name, which—as well as the good work she is so zealously carrying on—is we believe, as well known in Europe and America as in India.

Miss S. Manockjee Cursetjee, the lady directress of the well-known Alexandra Girls' School, whose distinguished grandfather's statue is amongst the ornaments of Bombay, is one of our foremost educationists.

Mrs. Ghosal, better known by her maiden title of Sreemati Swarna Kumari Devi, the grand-daughter of Dwarakanath Tagore, and sister of Bengal's most thoughtful poet, has been for years the editress and chief writer in the *Bharati*, a Bengali magazine for ladies, which has done much to expand the minds and raise the mental standard of our fair sisters in that province. An accomplished English scholar, she has yet preferred to write only in the vernacular, and in that create a suitable literature for her less advanced and non-English educated sisters. The happy wife of Mr. J. Ghosal, than whom a more earnest, indefatigable and self-devoted, if modest and unassuming, labourer in the cause of the Congress, all India cannot boast, she ever gratefully acknowledges much of the high culture she enjoys, she owes to his kindly encouragement and guidance.

Mrs. Gangooli (*née* Kadambini Bose) is the most distinguished lady graduate that has yet passed out of the Calcutta University.*....

Mrs. Trimbuck (Shevantlibai) Canaran has, with her worthy husband, devoted her entire life to the cause of education, and beginning in an unassuming way, now directs, with the happiest results a whole congeries of schools—day, night and Sunday schools. This lady, though a Christian, as was her father, is of pure Brahmin

*The Congress organ *India* writes that in 1890 'Mrs. Ganguli, a fully qualified doctor wished to speak on the Salt-tax resolution, but was suppressed by some busy body, to the disappointment of everybody' (1891, p. 50). She, however, spoke a few words on the resolution offering thanks to those who helped the Congress.

descent, and alike physically and mentally, exemplifies the highest Aryan type.

Mrs. Kashibai Kanitkar, an orthodox Hindu lady, is the authoress of the well-known Mahratti life of the late lamented Dr. Anandibai Joshi. She is also joint editress with her husband, Mr. Kanitkar, of the Mahratti magazine the *Monoranjana* which is doing to a great extent for the Deccan what the *Bharati* is for Lower Bengal, and she is admittedly one of the two most highly cultured ladies in her province.

Mrs. Nikambe, of Hindu parentage, the Christian wife of an active and well-known minister, has also specially interested herself in, and devoted much of her time to, the practical work of education, both secular and religious."

Sarala Devi, daughter of J. Ghosal, was a familiar figure in the Congress circle. In 1902 she could not attend the Ahmedabad session, but she wrote a letter to Surendranath Banerjea, the President, asking him to move the Congress to take steps for imparting physical education to young students. She sang the Vande Mataram song at the Benares session in 1905. G. S. Khaparde writes in his Diary : 'Her voice is extra-ordinarily sweet and capable of a very high pitch. It was quite divine in its melody and the whole Congress stood spell-bound. I never heard such sweet singing and so effective before'."13

The most dominating personality amongst the women delegates in the period under review was Sarojini Naidu. She appeared on the Congress platform for the first time in 1915.

IV. Surendranath Banerjea overpowering the sound of rains

On the 29th December, 1903, while G. Subramania Iyer was addressing the Congress rain began to descend in torrents and the temporary stone line leaked in many places to the great discomfort of the audience. Now, Lal Mohan Ghosh, the President, said : "As nobody can hear the speaker on account of this rain, we will suspend the meeting for a short time." A few minutes later proceedings were resumed. The President now said : "Mr. Surendranath Banerjea will dominate the noise of the rain. I call upon him to address the Congress." Surendranath responded to the call and when the rains somewhat abated, he resumed his seat, and G. Subramania Iyer again continued his speech."14

V. Discipline in the Congress

An incident which occurred in the Congress session in 1894 illustrates the low level of discipline which prevailed in those days. Alfred Webb, who was presiding, sounded the gong when Venkata Subba Row continued his speech beyond the allotted time-limit. But some voices said, 'Go on, go on'. Now the President remarked : "Gentlemen, I must really claim your indulgence. I am trying to conduct the proceedings of the Congress as well as I can. If you go on at the present rate, the business will not be done till 12 O'clock. I must ask you, when I strike the gong, not to say 'go on, go on.' You have done it in every case, and there must be a limit to everything." Now Venkata Subba Row said : "I do not know how to proceed. It is an important thing and I am the only Madras speaker to speak upon it. Unless the President is a little more indulgent, I had better not proceed at all." The President did grant him three minutes of extra time.¹⁴

VI. Dull monotony of proceedings

The leaders of the Congress were eager to demonstrate before the British authorities that there was absolute unanimity amongst all classes and sections about the resolutions brought before the open session of their organisation. They did not encourage, not even allow any member to move any amendment to any of their proposals. Differences of opinion, if any, were settled in the Subjects Committee. The dead uniformity of opinion expressed in the open session would have certainly contributed to the dullness of the proceedings, had not the audience been anxious to hear the speeches of their leaders.

Many of the resolutions were repeated year after year. Thus within a course of thirty-three years as many as 14 resolutions were passed on the reform of Legislative Councils, 18 on the gagging of the Press, 18 on the separation of the executive from judicial functions, 16 on the disabilities of Indians in the British Colonies and 12 on the holding of the I. C. S. examinations simultaneously in England and India. Not infrequently the same person was asked to move, second or support the same resolution year after year. Thus Surendranath Banerjea spoke on the reform of the Legislature in 1886, 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891 and 1892 and Wacha on the *abkari* policy in 1888, 1889, 1890 and on the economic distress of the people

of India in 1891, 1892, 1894 and 1895. It was not easy for such speakers to adduce new facts or reasonings every year.

VII. Opinion of Bureaucrats on the Congress

It has already been mentioned that as a rule the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy was hostile to the Congress. They had so long been regarded as the undisputed arbiters of the fate of Indians and none had dared to question their authority. Now that the Congress dared to raise its voice against their misrule, oppression and even inefficiency they wanted to suppress the Congress by all means. George Chesney, the Military Member of the Viceroy's Council wrote in 1894 : "In truth, the holders of these Congresses, are a set of inept, blundering, political charlatans. They have never made one useful or practical suggestion, but their proceedings, when not merely silly, are undoubtedly mischievous."¹⁶

Arthur Travers Crawford went beyond the limit of decency in criticising the Congressmen, and especially Lokmanya Tilak, due to whose criticism in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* he was removed from the Civil Service on March 29, 1889. In 1897 he wrote a book entitled 'Our Troubles in Poona and the Deccan' in which he nicknamed Tilak as Dushtee Rao Pajee Bancootekar and explained the first word as treacherous, Pajee as bad character and the last term as modern Bankot, but which really is an extremely obscene term of abuse.¹⁶ He offers the following advice to the Government—"Congress-wallahs should be struck off Government House lists, systematically kept out in the cold, and no matter how they may otherwise be distinguished, should not be patted on the back, anointed in Government Resolutions, or buttered up in speeches, still less should they be made Honourable in the Legislative Council."¹⁷ He suggests the following lines of policy for combating the seditious spirit of the Congressmen: "Weaken Brahmanical influence by raising the status of the Mussalman; let the one counterpoise the other, but let neither party dominate. Look to the Education Department; overhaul objectionable text books; withdraw or reduce grants for higher education and devote the money to Mahomedan and lower class schools and colleges. Watch the native press vigilantly, and promptly punish seditious writings; the law has now been proved sufficient for its control without resort to insane suppression."¹⁸ The policy adopted by Lord George Hamilton and Lord Curzon shows that

Crawford's advice did not go unheeded. On May 1, 1899 Hamilton, the Secretary of State, suggested to Curzon the Viceroy that the Government of India should ascertain the names of persons who subscribed to the Congress fund and let them know that the Government were aware of the fact. Secondly, he asked Curzon to award honours and distinctions on those who were not Congressmen. Thirdly, he urged the need for exercising a stricter control over education, its organisation and text books. In this connection it may be noted that the citizens of Bombay have shown much greater spirit of tolerance than the people of Calcutta. The latter have changed the names of streets and markets associated with the names of persons like Harrison, Clive, Cornwallis and Hogg. But the biggest market in Bombay still bears the name of Crawford.

There were some exceptions amongst the Anglo-Indian officials. The Cotton family is an example. Sir Henry Cotton attributes the opposition of the Congress to the Government to "legislation designed to curtail the liberty of the press and speech, the crusade against so-called sedition ; the attempt to abolish trial by Jury ; the forcible introduction of harsh plague regulations, subsequently withdrawn ; the blows that have been dealt on local self-government, especially in Calcutta ; the systematic discouragement of popular institutions ; the deliberate encouragement of provincial segregation ; the substitution of a system of nomination to Government service in the place of competitive examination ; the practical declaration of race disqualification for public offices ; the hampering and fettering of unaided colleges and schools, and the general sinister drift in favour of officialising all branches of education, and above all the recent partition of Bengal."¹⁹ He quotes from his brother's book *India*, published in the English Citizen Series by Macmillan the following interesting passage : "Men who speak better English than most Englishmen, who read Mill and Comte, Max Muller and Maine, who occupy with distinction seats on the Judicial bench, who administer the affairs of Native state with many millions of inhabitants, who manage cotton mills and conduct the boldest operations of commerce, who edit newspapers in English and correspond on equal terms with the scholars of Europe—these can no longer be treated as an inferior breed."²⁰ But the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy preferred to be blind to the qualities of Indians.

VIII. Congressmen and Revolutionaries

People wedded to the cult of violence and revolution made a determined bid to capture the Congress organisation in 1906. Sri Aurobindo, Brahma Bandhava Upadhyaya, Ullaskar Datta and several other prominent members of revolutionary party became delegates to the Congress in that year. Their attempt to make Tilak the President of the Congress failed.

It is highly significant that Ranade had to sit in judgement over Chapekar and Chandavarkar had to try the Nasik conspiracy case. The Dacca conspiracy case was tried by Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjee, who, however, was in no way connected with the Congress. But it is nothing short of an irony of fate that the innocent victims of the attack of revolutionaries at Muzaffarpur happened to be the wife and daughter of Pringle Kennedy, who played an important part in the Congress between 1888 and 1891. He passed the Premchand Roychand Scholarship Examination of the Calcutta University in 1879. At the Allahabad Congress in 1888 he pleaded for the organisation of a national army for India. In 1890 he raised his voice for the reduction of salt duty and next year suggested reforms which should be introduced for alleviating the distress of the people. He was the editor of the *Tirhoot Courier*, which was probably the first English Journal published from North Bihar. He ceased to evince much interest in the Congress after 1891.

Another early advocate of the Congress claims was Eardley Norton, who cut off his connection with the Congress during the Swadeshi agitation. Pillai has written that the people of India had never a stouter champion than Eardley Norton²¹. He was engaged by the Government for prosecuting Sri Aurobindo and his associates in the Alipore Bomb case. Had not C. R. Das been engaged for defence it would have been impossible to get Sri Aurobindo acquitted. In 1908 and 1909 Norton lost his popularity with patriotic young men. He had to move about with Police escort. But he became a hero with them again in 1914 when, along with C.R. Das, J. N. Roy and Loken Palit he took up the defence of Nirmal Kanta Roy, who had been arrested on the charge of murdering Nripendra Ghosh, C. I. D. Inspector. Ghosh was shot dead while alighting from a tram car at the junction of Grey Street and Chitpore Road. Nirmal's case was so successfully defended by Norton that the government was compelled

to withdraw it. Jadugopal Mukherjee, a revolutionary leader, writes that Norton at that time became more popular than even Surendra Nath Banerjee.

IX. Mr. Jinnah as a Congressman

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was one of the most prominent leaders of the Congress during the period under review. In accordance with Resolution XVIII passed in 1903 at the Karachi Congress he was selected as a member of the deputation along with Bhupendranath Basu and Lajpat Rai and went to London on the eve of the first World War. It was mainly on his initiative that the Congress and the Muslim League held their session in Bombay in 1915 and this paved the way for the formation of Hindu-Muslim *entente*. The scheme of reform formulated by the League and the Congress was to be placed before the British authorities in London and for this purpose a small deputation consisting of Jinnah, Srinivas Sastri, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Wazir Hassan was sent in 1917. Jinnah took pride in his being a nationalist and a Congressman. In the Imperial Legislative Council he said in April, 1913: "I say, Sir, that I am proud that I belong to the Congress Party."¹ In giving evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1919 he was asked whether he spoke really as an Indian nationalist and he emphatically replied: "I do". The next question that was put to him by Major Ormsby-Gore was: "That is to say that at the earliest possible moment you wish to do away in political life with any distinction between Mohamedan and Hindu?" Jinnah stated: "Yes. Nothing will please me more than when that day comes." Thus he justified the title 'Ambassador of Unity' which people had conferred on him.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gives a brilliant character-sketch of Jinnah in the following words: "Somewhat formal and fastidious and a little aloof and imperious in manner, the calm hauteur on his accustomed reserve but masks for those who know him, a naive and eager humanity, an intuition quick and tender as a woman's, a humour gay and winning as a child's—pre-eminently rational and practical, discreet and dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life, the obvious sanity and serenity of his worldly wisdom effectually disguise a shy and splendid idealism which is the very essence of the man." Many persons believe that had this gifted leader been given his due

place and made the President of the Congress India would not have been truncated.

X. Old Guards depart

The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were found to be a fair fulfilment of the cherished dreams of some of the most important leaders of the Congress. They considered it useless to boycott the Reforms and carry on the struggle any longer. Eminent Congress leaders like Wacha, Surendranath Banerjea, Bhupendranath Basu and Ambica Charan Mazumdar absented themselves from the special session of the Congress held in Bombay on August 29, 1918. On November 1 of the same year these leaders held a conference in the same town thus signalling their departure from the organisation they had nursed with so much devotion. Surendranath Banerjea, who presided over the Conference declared in his address that "the Congress in the hands of its latest masters, had ceased to be representative of the sentiments and principles before which national rivalries disappear." This was an open confession of their defeat at the hands of those whom they had tried to keep out of the Congress.

When the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms came into operation in 1921 we find Tej Bahadur Sapru and B. N. Sarma as members of Viceroy's Executive Council ; Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha as the Executive Councillor in Bihar and Orissa ; Sir Chiman Lal Setalvad and Ibrahim Rahimatulla in Bombay and Moropant V. Joshi in C. P. and Berar. Among the leading Congressmen Surendranath Banerjea and Provas Chandra Mitra accepted Ministership in Bengal, R. P. Paranjpye in Bombay, A. P. Patro in Madras, Jagat Narain and C. Y. Chintamani in the U. P., and Harkisan Lal in the Punjab. In the next term C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, who had carried on the duties of the General Secretary of the Congress in 1917 and 1918 became a Minister in Madras.

XI. New Leaders Appear

Between 1918 and 1940 seventeen persons became Presidents of the Congress. Of these, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the only one who had presided over a previous session. Of the others, Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Hasan Imam, C. Vijai Raghavacharia, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu were the only persons

who had appeared on the Congress platform more than once. At the memorable Surat Congress Pandit Motilal Nehru was on the side of the Moderates. He supported the resolution moved by Surendranath Banerjea for the election of Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh as President. In 1910 he moved a vote of thanks and at the Patna session, condoled the death of Hume and demanded an Executive Council for the United Provinces. These can not be said to be matters of first importance. Srinivas Iyengar had moved only a vote of thanks in 1914. C. R. Das and Ansari appeared for the first time on the Congress platform in 1917, though some of the Extremist leaders had put up in the house of the former in his absence in 1906. It is noteworthy that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had attended the Congress in 1912, 1915 and 1916 but he did not deliver any speech during the period under review. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mohammad Ali, and Subhas Chandra Bose had also never spoken in the Congress during this period. It may be mentioned in this connection that Subhas Chandra's father Janaki Nath Bose appeared on the Congress platform in 1890 and 1903. Amongst the notable absentees may be mentioned the name of C. Rajagopalachari.

It is rather surprising that for some reason not known to us Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Indian Republic, though elected to the All India Congress Committee at the Bombay session in 1915, yet he resigned from the AICC. He was present, however, at the Lucknow Congress and was elected to the AICC again. He attended its meeting early in 1917.

XII. Mahatma Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi addressed the Congress for the first time in 1901. He began his speech on the disabilities of Indians in South Africa in an apologetic tone and said: "I appear before you not as a delegate, but more as a petitioner." He was received with loud cheers and when he finished his speech he was greeted with "loud and prolonged cheers."¹ But his biographer writes: "He was given only five minutes to speak upon it. He decided not to read his prepared speech but speak extempore. But before he could speak sufficiently on the subject, the bell rang and he sat down with a sad heart."²

In 1909 the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee suggested his name for the Presidentship of the Congress session to be held at Lahore.²⁵ But the members of other Provincial Committees supported Pherozeshah Mehta, who however resigned six days before the commencement of the session. At the request of Natesan Gandhiji sent a remarkable message to the Lahore Congress in which he suggested that passive resistance was an infallible panacea for the many ills from which India had been suffering. He began the message thus : "I do not know that I am at all competent to send any message." In conclusion he said that passive resistance "is the only weapon that is suited to the genius of our people and our land, which is the nursery of the most ancient religions and has very little to learn from modern civilization—a civilization based on violence of the blackest type, largely a negation of the divine in man, and which is rushing headlong to its own ruin." Here non-violence was to be the basis of passive resistance unlike the passive resistance preached by Sri Aurobindo.

The Mahatma spoke on the condition of Indians in the colonies in 1915, 1916 and 1917. The speech in 1917 was delivered in Hindi and though the substance of many other speeches in Hindi and Urdu have been given in the Report of the Congress, this one has been dismissed in half a line. In 1915 there was considerable tension amongst the delegates of Bombay for election to the Subjects Committee. The struggle took the colour of a fight between the older and the younger Congressmen and possibly between the moderate and progressive views. M. R. Jayakar, who was then forty-two years of age, writes in his Diary, dated the 27th December, 1915 : "Fight about my election to Subjects Committee. Setalwad, Samarth and others against younger men but ultimately I was elected with the help of the younger men along with Bahadurji, Bhulabhai Desai, Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Horniman."²⁶ He does not mention that Mahatma Gandhi was defeated in the election but Sir S. P. Sinha, the President of the Congress, nominated him to the Subjects Committee.²⁷

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21. Pillai : *Indian Congressmen*, p. 26.
22. *Mahomed Ali Jinnah—An Ambassador of Unity* (Ganesh & Co., 1919), p. 240.
23. RINC, 1901, pp. 107-109.
24. D. G. Tendulkar—*Mahatma*, I, p. 57.
25. *Ibid.* p. 111.
26. M. R. Jayakar—*The Story of My Life*, I, p. 140.
27. D. G. Tendulkar—*Mahatma*, I, p. 177.

PART II

Congressmen

**Arranged alphabetically with the year
and subject matter of their speeches.**

ABREVIATIONS

- BP —Bipin Chandra Pal
CPA —*Congress Presidential Addresses*
CR —*Calcutta Review*
HR —*Hindustan Review*
Ind —*India* (Published from London)
I. R. —*Indian Review*
M.R. —*Modern Review*
N.G. —Nagendranath Gupta
PP —Parthasarathi Pilla
RINC—Report of the Indian National Congress

Serial Number to the left indicates a speaker in the Congress and that to the right a delegate.

1 Abhayankar, Ganesh Raghunath, B.A., LL. B., (1873-1935)

Brahmana pleader, Sangali, Kolhapur. Championed the cause of the subjects of the Indian States. "He was never wearied of writing and speaking of the duties of the Paramount Power, the short-comings of the Ruling Chiefs, and the grievances of the people of Indian India". (H. R. 1935, p. 767).

1902 Delegate.

1904 Military expenditure.

Srinivasa Sastri wrote in the *Hindustan Review*, (1935, p. 767) that Gokhale respected his judgment so much that he was among those who were consulted before the establishment of the Servants of India Society. H. R. January 1935, p. 512.

2. Achariar, Sadgopa, R. G.

Vakil, High Court, Madras.
1908 Separation of functions.

3. Acharya Chaudhuri, Keshav Chandra

Zamindar, Mymensingh.
1886 Verdict of the Jury to be

accepted as final ; Poverty of Indians.

4. Acharya, Kaliprasanna, B.L.

(1887, Metropolitan Institution). Pleader, Rajshahi, Member, District Board and Member, Rajshahi Association, 1894 Legislative Council.

5. Adam, John (Scotchman).

Principal, Pachiappa College. But later on (1899) a lawyer, Madras.

1887 Volunteering ; Technical education.

1888 Simultaneous examination.

1888 Grant for education should be increased ; Commission for industries.

1889 Address to Bradlaugh ; employment of Indians ; Arms Act.

1890, 1898 President's election.

1897 Land Revenue settlement ; amendment of Criminal Procedure Code, investing Magistrates with discretionary power.

1898 Omnibus Resolution.

"Tall, strong and well-

built he makes an impression physically as he does intellectually". PP

6. Advani, Avatsingh, Mahtabsingh

Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind).

1902 I. C. S. men should not be appointed District Judge.

Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh (I)
(1856-1895)

Professor, Fergusson College;
Editor, *Mahratta* and *Kesari*.

1885 Foundation member.

7. Agashe, Narayan Kasinath
(Brahmana) Vakil, Satara.

1892, 1899 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

8. Agnihotri, Satyananda

Brahmo Missionary, Lahore

1885 Foundation member.

Thanks the President.

1886 Expansion of the Council of Secretary of State ;
Employment of Indians.

1887 Constitution of the Congress.

1888 *Abkari* policy.

9. Ahmed, Nasir-ud-din

Pleader, Varanasi.

1888 Matters objected to by a minority community should not be taken up by the Congress.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

1899 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive (spoke in Urdu).

10. Ahmed, Riaz-ud-din
Bareilly.

1899 Foreign Telegraph Press Message Bill (spoke in Urdu).

11. Ahmed, Sadar-ud-din
Zamindar. Allahabad.

1888 Resolutions of the Congress to be sent to Viceroy (Spoke in Urdu).

1889 Permanent Settlement.

1890 Omnibus resolution.

1891 Appreciation of Bradlaugh.

1892 Distress of people and reduction of cost of administration.

12. Ala Ram (Swami)

Hindu Preacher, Allahabad. (Spoke in Hindi)

1888 Communal question not to be taken up by the Congress.

1890 Salt tax.

1891 Postponement of the Congress session.

1892 Contribution to Congress fund,

All, Azmat (2)

1910 President, District Congress Committee, Fyzabad.

13. Ali Barkat

1917 Service in the Army.

All Imam (3) b. 11th Feb. 1869—d. 1932.

Joined as Barrister-at law, (10th Dec. 1890, Calcutta High Court). President, Muslim League, 1908 at Amritsar. Member, Muslim League deputation to England in 1909. Member, Legislative Council, Bengal 1910; Law Member, Governor-General's Executive Council 1910—1915. Judge, Patna High Court 1917. Member, Executive Council of the Governor of Bihar and Orissa 1918. President of the Nizam's Executive Council 1919-1922.

On the 25th June, 1890, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress expressed its high appreciation of the services rendered by the gentlemen delegated by the Congress in December last (1889) and also to Dadabhai Naoroji and to Syed Ali Imam, residents in England. 1916 A. I. C. C.

14. Ali Muhammad Bhimji

Law Agent, Bilaspur (1888), later of Indore, Secundrabad (1896), then a merchant of Bombay.

1887 Military expenditure ; repeal of the Arms Act.

1888 Enquiry into industrial condition ; Arms Act.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council : Simultaneous examination ; Employment of Indians.

1891 Modification of the Arms Act.

1893 Poverty of India.

1895 South Africa ; Omnibus resolution.

1896 Thanks Wedderburn ; Gagging of Press in Indian States under British administration ; Executive Councillor for Bombay and Madras.

1904 Surpluses.

1905 Quarantine.

15. Amarchand Seth, Ram Narayana

Merchant, Poona.

(Spoke in Hindi)

1896 Gagging the Press in Native States under British Rule.

Aney, Mahadeo Srihari (4)

b. 29th August, 1880.

Teacher, Private High School, Amraoti 1904—1907. Joined Bar at Yeotmal 1908. His pleader's license was suspended in 1910 for his political activities.

1905 Delegate (No. 535).

President, Berar Provincial Congress Committee 1921—30.

Acting President, Indian National Congress, 1933.

Leader, Congress Nationalist Assembly group 1935. He rose to be the Governor of Bihar after Independence.

16. Ansari, M. A. (1880—1936)

Medical practitioner in Delhi. President of the Muslim League, 1920 and of the Congress, 1927. He was one of the three General Secretaries of the Congress in 1920.

1917 Implementation of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms (spoke in Urdu).

H R., June 1936, pp. 848-49.

Apte, Harinarayan (5)

Poona

1916 A. I. C. C.

Apte, Vishnu Shivaram (6)
(1858—1892)

Principal, Fergusson College, Poona.

1885 Foundation Member.

17. Apte, Vishnu Narayan

Banker and Assistant Manager, Deccan Paper Mills, Poona.

1891 Forest law.

1895 Cotton Excise Duty.

1896 Indians in South Africa.

18. Arundale, G. S. (1878—1945)
M.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), D.Litt (Madras).

The great theosophist came to India in 1903 as Hony. Professor of History, Central Hindu College and became its Principal. Married Rukmini Devi in 1920.

1911 Delegate.

1916 Education.

19. Asaf Ali, M.

1917 Depressed classes.

Asthana, Narain Prasad

M.A. LL. D. (7)

Agra.

Hon. 1916.

A. I. C. C. 1911, 1917.

Athalye (Dr.) (8)

Medical Practitioner, Madras.

1885 Foundation Member.

20. Atkins, F. T.

Managing Director of *Morning Post*, Allahabad.

1888 *Abkari* policy; Commission to enquire into industrial condition and technical education.

21. Avadhani, V. V.

Masulipatam.

1894 Regulation regarding water-cess.

22. Ayodhyanath (1840-1892).

Kashmiri Brahman, born April 8, 1840. His father Kedarnath was a merchant of Agra and served as Dewan of the Nawab of Jaffnar.

1869 Professor of Law, Agra ; started *Indian Herald* (1879) at Allahabad and started *Indian Union* (1890) ; lawyer, Allahabad. Chairman, Reception Committee 1888 session. Fellow of the Calcutta and Allahabad Universities. A scholar in Persian and Arabic. 1891-1892 Joint Secretary of the Congress ; Member, Legislative Council, N.W. Province. Surendranath Banerjea writes of him : "a brilliant lawyer, a warm-hearted patriot, a great organiser" (*A Nation in making*, p. 109).

1888 Welcomes delegates as Chairman ; Election of

President ; Military College ; Vote of thanks.

1889 Presidential election ; Address to Bradlaugh ; Reform of Legislative Council.

1890 Thomas Bradlaugh and British Committee; Appointment of delegates to England.

1891 Congress session to be held every year.

1891 Election of President ; Salt tax and Income tax. 'India' 1892.

23. Aziz, Abdulla

Pleader ; Secretary, Local Board, Nagpur.

1891 Appreciation of Bradlaugh.

Azmat Ali, M. B. A. (9)

Secretary, District Congress Committee, Fyzabad, 1910-11. May be same as (2) in p. 261

Bagchi, Debendranath,

M.A., B.L. (10)

Vakil, High Court, Calcutta. Delegate 1906, elected by the Nabadwip Bande Mataram Bhikshuka Sampradaya. Regularly attended Congress for several years.

- 24. Bahadurji, K. N.** (d. 1898).
(Parsi),
Medical Practitioner, Bombay.
1893 Civil Medical Service.
1894 Medical Service.
1894, 1895 Presidential election.
1895 Medical Service.
- 25. Bajpai, Nawal Behari**
Vakil, Allahabad.
1888 Reform of Legislative Council.
- 26. Bakshi, Govinda**
1887 Constitution.
- 27. Bakshi, Hidayat**
1905 Partition.
Balak Ram (II)
1900 C. C.
- 28. Banerjee, A. C.**
Barrister-at-law, Calcutta.
1906 Separation of Judicial from Executive functions.
1917 Demands release of Ali Brothers.
- 29. Banerjee, D. N.**
(Brahmana) Barrister-at-law, Allahabad.
1892 Thanks the British Committee.
Banerjee, Durgacharan (12)
Vakil, High Court, N. W. Province.
- 1886 Delegate.
1888 Delegate.
1912 A. I. C. C.
- 30. Banerjee, Bipradas**
Journalist; Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta
1890 Expansion and reform of Legislative Council.
- 31. Banerjee, Gurudas, D. L.**
(1844—1918)
B. A. 1863, M. A. 1864 in Mathematics—First Class First, D. L. 1876.
1886 Vakil, High Court ; Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta ; Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1887.
1889—1903 Judge, Calcutta High Court; 1889-1892 Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University ; Tagore Law Professor 1878.
Author of "A Few Thoughts on Education", "The necessity of religious ceremonies in Adoption", "Hindu Law of Endowment", "Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana."
1886 Public Service for Judiciary.
- 32. Banerjee, Jitendralal, M. A.**
(1902, Presidency College).
Vakil, High Court, Calcutta ;

also Professor of English and famous annotator of English text books Resident of Birbhum. Represented Indian Association

1910 Swadeshi.

1911 Elementary Education.

1917 Internment and against the punishment of persons without trial.

- 33. Banerjee, Kalicharan** (1847—1907), M. A. (Hons. I in 1866), B. L. (1870). (Christian) Vakil, Calcutta, enrolled in 1870. Fellow and Paper Setter, Calcutta University; Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1897-1899. For many years he practised as a Pleader in the Calcutta High Court, but gave up law for education and other public work and later on became the Registrar of the Calcutta University.

1886 Poverty of India: Verdict of Jury to be accepted as final; Employment of Indians.

1887 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive; Repeal of the Arms Act.

1888-1890 Omnibus resolution.

1889 Scheme of representation.

1890 Delegation to England.

1891 Distress of people and reforms needed.

1893 Separation of Judiciary; Criticism of Judicial decrees by Executive condemned.

1895 Simultaneous Examination.

1896 Reform of University.

1899 Protest against prohibition of teachers attending political meetings.

1901 Indian lawyers to be appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

He used to set or moderate all the question papers in Honours and M.A. in Philosophy in the Calcutta University for a long period.

Ref. *Hindustan Review*, 1907, pp. 250-256.

- 34. Banerjee, Kunjalal**

Retired Judge, Small Causes Court, Calcutta.

1886 Expansion of Legislative Council.

- 35. Banerjee, M. N. (Dr.)**

Calcutta.

1901 Medical Service.

- 36. Banerjee, Panchowri**

(20 Dec., 1866—15 Nov., 1923) Editor, *Nayak* (Bengali daily) and Bengali Litterateur.

1917 Against the Internment of political workers and the vesting of additional

powers in the hands of
the Executive.

37. Banerjee, Pramathanath,
(1879-1953)

M. A. (1902), D. Sc.
(Lond.); famous Professor of
Economics, Calcutta Univer-
sity 1920-1935 ; Professor and
landowner, representing Indian
Association in 1905 ; Asstt.
Secretary, Indian Association
in 1911 ; Secretary, District
Congress Committee in 1910.

1911 Increase in Public expen-
diture.

1912 Indians in colonies.

1915-1917 A.I.C.C.

38. Banerjee, P. C.

Allahabad.

(Is he the same as Pramada
Charan Banerjee (b. 1848), who
became a Judge of the Allaha-
bad High Court in 1893 ?)

1911 Military Service.

Banerjee, Preonath (13)

Allahabad.

1912 Delegate, Bareilly.

1916 A. I. C. C.

**39. Banerjee (spelt as Bonerjee),
R.C.**

Barrister-at-law, Calcutta.

1915 Military and naval train-
ing and volunteering.

40 Banerjee, Satish Chandra,
M.A., LL.D. (Dr.)
Advocate, Allahabad.

1887 Represented National
League, Municipal Com-
missioner, Principal.

1908 Separation of Judiciary

1910 Council regulations.

1911 Elementary Education.

1912 A. I. C. C.

**41. Banerjee, Surendranath (1848-
1925)** Second son of Durga
Charan Banerjee, a prominent
medical practitioner. B.A. 1868,
I.C.S. 1871 ; ceased to belong
to the Civil Service in
1874 ; Professor, Metropolitan
College, 1875 ; Editor, *Bengalee*,
1879 ; founded Ripon College
1882 and became its Principal ;
Member, Calcutta Corporation
from 1876 ; Chairman, North
Barackpur Municipality from
1885 ; Member, Bengal Legis-
lative Council 1893-1901 ;
Member, Imperial Legislature
1913 ; Secretary of the Indian
Association ; President of the
Congress 1895, 1902. Minister
in the Bengal Government
1921-1923.

1886 Reform of Legislative
Council ; Poverty of
India ; Council of Secre-
tary of State ; Employment
of Indians ; Vote of thanks.

- 1887, 1888, 1890, 1891, 1892
Reform of Legislative Council.
- 1888 Military Service ; repeal of the Arms Act.
- 1890, 1891 Congress session in U. K. ; Vote of thanks.
- 1893 Exchange Compensation allowance ; Grant to British Committee; thanks House of Commons for passing a resolution regarding simultaneous examination.
- 1894 Simultaneous examination; Grant for British Committee.
- 1895 Presidential address—Spoke for 4 hours without consulting any note.
- 1896 Drain and poverty.
- 1897 Election of President ; condemns exercise of extraordinary powers of Government.
- 1898 Welcomes Curzon; Constitution of Congress.
- 1899 Calcutta Municipal Act.
- 1900, 1904, 1909 1910, 1911, 1912, 1914, 1915, 1916
Election of President.
- 1900 Employment of Indians; Famine policy.
- 1901 Employment of Indians.
- 1902 Presidential address.
- 1903 Employment of Indians ; University Bill.
- 1904 Indians in public service.

- 1905 Further expansion and reform of Council; Partition of Bengal.
- 1906 Partition ; condolence for Samuel Smith ; Vote of thanks.
- 1908 Morley's despatch regarding Reforms satisfactory.
- 1909 Criticises Regulations made under 1909 Act ; South Africa.
- 1910 Regulations under 1909 Act.
- 1911 Thanks for annulling partition.
- 1912 Condemns Delhi outrage on Lord Hardinge ; Provincial Autonomy.
- 1914 Loyalty to throne ; Self-government for India.
- 1915 Self-Government for India.
- 1916 Self-Government for India.
- 1917 Election of President ; Self-Government.

H. R. June 1944, an excellent appreciation by Dr. S. Sinha, pp. 475-486.

- 42. **Banerjee, Tarapada.** Passed B.A. in 1869 from Krishnagar College. Lawyer, Krishnagar (Nadia), Municipal Commissioner.
- 1892 Jury trial.
- 1896 Separation of judiciary from the executive.
- 1898 Sedition Law.

1900 Industry committee.

1901 Police reform.

1905 Demands periodical Parliamentary enquiry.

43. **Banerjee, (spelt as Bonnerjee), W. C.** (1844-1906). Born on Dec. 29.

His mother was a descendant of the great Pandit Jagannath Tarkapanchanan. His father was an Attorney. In his adolescence he used to appear in female roles in dramatic performances held in the houses of Kali Prasanna Sinha and Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore. He went to England in 1864 and joined the Bar in Calcutta in 1868. He contributed to the Journal of the East India Association (1867, pp. 157-78) an illuminating paper entitled "Representative and Responsible Government for India." He became a leading Barrister-at-law. In 1880 he was nominated a fellow of the Calcutta University. He acted as the Standing Counsel to Government in 1882, 1884, 1886-87. He represented the Calcutta University in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1893.

W. C. Bonnerjee was one of those who persuaded the Maharaja of Darbhanga to

contribute a sum of Rupees Ten Thousand per year to the Congress. Babington Smith, Private Secretary to Lord Elgin, Governor-General of India, accused him of using the Manager of the 'Cambridge Press' for the purpose of obtaining possession of the correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. He wrote: "The man who receives them and pays for them is W. C. Bonnerjee, one of the Congress leaders and a successful Calcutta barrister." The Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* got a printed copy of the Viceroy's letter to the Secretary of State, dated 23 October, 1894. Hiralal Singh—*Problems and Policies of the British in India 1885-1898*, p. 241)

G. Parameshwaram Pillai wrote in 1899: "Throughout India, no Congressman commands greater respect from his countrymen than Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee".

Was chosen twice as a candidate for a Parliamentary constituency in England. Presided over the Town Hall meeting, Calcutta, on the 14th January, 1894 to support the Ilbert Bill. President of the

Congress 1885, and 1892. Declined High Court Judgeship thrice.

1885 Presidential Address.

1886 Verdict of Jury to be final; Standing Committee of the Congress.

1887 Military Service; election of President.

1888 Resolutions to be forwarded to Viceroy.

1889 Election of President; Modifications of rules and practice of House of Commons regarding Indians subjects prayed for.

1889-90 Appointed Congress representative to England.

1891 Congress session to be held every year; Thanks Dadabhai Naoroji; moves appointment of Secretaries for the Congress.

1895 Extension of use of Jury service.

1896 Confidence in Dadabhai Naoroji.

1897 Protests against Law of Sedition; congratulatory telegram to Gladstone.

1901 Election of President; British Committee of the Congress and circulation of the Journal *India*.

Ref. Hindustan Review—
January 1936, pp. 491-96
Sachchidananda Sinha on

"The First Congress President as I Knew Him."

44. Banen, A. T. (Captain)

Zamindar, Kulu Kangra valley, Lahore (1892).

1888 State-aided Prostitutes for army.

1892 Currency question; State regulated immorality in India.

1894 Land question.

45. Bansilal.

Lucknow.

1900 Election of President.

46. Banwarilal.

Vakil, Patna. Secretary, Patna Standing Congress Committee.

1896 Drain and poverty.

47. Baptista, Joseph, B.A., LL.B.

(Cantab), (b. 1864)

Bar-at-law.

1916 Self Government for India.

In 1917 the Congress passed a Resolution (xix) requesting Joseph Baptista and H.S.L. Polak, both of whom were in England at that time to convey to the Labour Party cordial welcome of their proffered help in obtaining the passage through Parliament of a statute embodying the grant of responsible government in India.

48. Bapuji Pandurang.

Moneylender and landholder. Member, District Board, Akola (Berar).

Spoke in Marathi

1895 Fixity of land tenure

1897 Land revenue settlement.

Barbhaya, Moolji

Bhowanidas. (14)

Solicitor, Bombay.

1885 Foundation Member.

49. Barkat Ali.

1917 Demands opening of Cadet Corps and expresses satisfaction at the opening of the Officers' rank to Indians.

50. Barua, Devi Charan. (b. 1864)

Joined the Bar in 1888, retired from the Bar in 1917. Secretary, Jorhat Sarvajanik Sabha from 1890 to 1907.

1886 Reform of Legislative Council; Sessions trial.

51. Baroacha, N.

Calcutta

1904 Indian emigrants to British colonies.

Basak, K. P.

1900 A. I. C. C. Education Committee.

52. Basu, A. K.

1916 Education.

53. Basu, Anandamohan (1847-1906), M. A. (Hons. Math. I 1868), P.R.S.(1869), Wrangler.

Barrister-at-law (1874), Zamindar and Proprietor of a tea estate in Assam, Member, Bengal Legislative Council (1885, 1895-1897, 1900), President of the Congress, 1898; founded the City College, Calcutta. Secretary of the Indian Association from 1875 till the 28th. Feb. 1885.

1889 Delegate to the Bombay Congress. Surendranath Banerjea in his speech on legislative reform pointed out to him (sitting opposite) and said that if membership of a Municipal Council be insisted on as a qualification for a voter of Legislative Council, men like Anandamohan and Kali Charan Banerjee could never be elected.

1896 Reorganisation of Educational Service.

1898 Presidential Address.

Sister Nivedita wrote after his death in the *Indian World*—"Gifted with the Hindu measure of the capacity for sainthood, he nevertheless set his face freely towards the

realization of citizenship instead. His whole mind was concentrated on his country, and even more than his mind, his heart." Rash Behari Ghosh said in 1906 : "To deep spiritual fervour, he joined a lofty patriotism, working 'as ever in the great Task Master's eye.' Indeed, in Anand Mohan Bose patriotism grew to the height of a religion."

Basu, Basanta Kumar, M. A.,
B. L. (15)

Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.
1916 A. I. C. C.

Basu, Bejoy Krishna (16)

Pleader, Alipore, Judge's Court.
Defended the accused in the
Alipore Bomb case, 1908.
1905 Delegate.

54. Basu, Bejoy Kumar

1904 Police reform.

55. Basu Bipin Behari, M. A.

(1874 from the Muir Central
College). Advocate, Lucknow.
Later on at Allahabad.

Represented Rifah-am
Association, Brahmo by
religion.

1886 Delegate.

1895 Separation of judiciary
from executive.

1900 Election to Senate sus-
pended.

1901 Economic Committee.

1915 Felicitation to His
Majesty.

1916 Thanks the Reception
Committee.

56. Basu, Bipin Krishna (Sir)
(1851-1933), M. A. (1871) B.L.
(1872).

Vakil, Nagpur. Member,
Nagpur Municipality 1883,
First Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur
University ; Member, Imperial
Legislature 1899. "He died in
Calcutta on the 26th August
at the age of 82. He attained
great distinction alike as a
lawyer, an educationist, a
member of the Legislative
Council, and a worker for
political, social and other
public causes." *Modern Review*
Sept. 1933, p. 368.

1891 Congress in England.

1916 A. I. C. C.

H. R. 1933 Oct., p. 147.

**57. Basu, Bhupendranath, (1859-
1924) M. A. (English II 1880),
B. L. (1883)**

Attorney-at-law, Calcutta;
President of the Congress 1914;
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta Uni-
versity.

Member of the Council
of the Secretary of State for
India 1917-1924.

1891 Postponement of the session of Congress in England.

1898 Vote of thanks.

1908 Repeal of Regulation III of 1818.

1909 Partition.

1911 Constitution for the Congress.

1912 Condemns Delhi outrage; condoles the death of Hume.

1913 Welcomes Muslim League Resolution regarding Self Government; Press Act; Vote of thanks.

58. Basu, D. N.

1904 Vote of thanks to William Wedderburn and British Committee

Basu, Janakinath. (17) (1862-1935)

(father of Netaji Subhas Chandra Basu)

Pleader, Cuttack.; Commissioner of Municipality. 1901 first non-official Chairman of Cuttack Municipality. 1912 Member Bengal Legislative Council.

1890 Permanent Settlement.

1903 Junior Government Pleader.

1903, 1904 Delegate.

H. R. 1935 January, p. 514.

59. Basu, Jogendranath

1914 Despatch of Indian Expeditionary Force.

60. Basu, Mohini Mohan,

M.D., L.R.C.P. (Edin.)

Physician and Surgeon, Calcutta; Zamindar. Brahmo by religion. Brother of Anandamohan Basu.

1893 Civil Medical Service.

1897 Thanks to Reception Committee.

61. Basu, Nalinaksha

1898 Demands repeal of Regulation III of 1818.

62. Basu, Narendra Kumar,

M.A., B.L. (in 1899 from the Ripon College); Advocate, Calcutta, Krishnagar.

1917 Press Act of 1910.

Basu, Prasanna Kumar (18)

Vakil, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Krishnagar (Nadia) 1910-1911.

Basu, Rajaninath (19)

Secretary, D. C. Dacca 1910-1911.

63. Basu, Ram Chandra (Rev.).

Christian Missionary, Lucknow. 1888 Commission to enquire into Industrial and technical conditions.

1889 Reform of Legislature.

1890 Congress Fund.
1891 Reform of Legislative Council.

Basu Satyananda (20)
Landholder ; Vakil enrolled on 29th August, 1889.
1910 Secretary, Bengal P.C.C.
1912, 1917 A. I. C. C.

64. Basu, Sachindra Prasad, B A.
(Brahmo by religion),
Secretary, Anti-Circular Society, 1906 ; Journalist, Calcutta ; Editor, *Aryabhasa*, *Vanijya* ; represented Indian Association ; Deported in 1908.

1906 Partition of Bengal.
1910, 1915 Swadeshi.
1912 Education.
1914 Rejoices at the partial settlement of the South African question.
1916 Indians in colonies.

65. Basu, Suresh Chandra.
1914 Self-Government for India.

66. Basu, S. K.
1916 Education on national line.

67. Beg, Shaniulla, B. A., LL. B.
Lucknow. Member, Subjects Committee 1910 ; A. I. C. C. 1917 ; Member of U. P. Legislative Council 1916.
1917 Election of President.

68. Begar, Ali Khan, Nawab
Lucknow.
1899 President's election.

69. Bejbarua, Gulab Chandra,
L. R. C. P. (Dr.).
(Christian), Assam, Calcutta.
1896 Simultaneous examination ; Medical service.

70. Bejbarua, Lakshminath.
Editor, *Janaki, Gauhati*.
1892 Jury trial.

71. Belgarnie, Florence.
1903 Thanks for reducing Salt-tax ;
Supports election of certain candidates to Parliament.

Belvi, D. V. (21)
Member of the Legislative Council 1917 ; A.I.C.C. 1917.

72. Benjamin, Joseph.
Medical Practitioner, Ahmedabad ; Secretary, Gujarat Sabha.
1895 Jury trial.
1900 Enquiry into the economic condition of India.
1901 Famine.
1902 Medical Services ; Army Service.
1904 Indebtedness of peasantry.

73. Benoy Krishna (Kumar)

Zamindar, Sobhabazar (Calcutta) Raj Family. Member of the Committee of the British Indian Association, Indian Association and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Secretary and Treasurer of the Reception Committee, 12th Congress. 1886 Enquiry Commission. 1896 Confidence in Dadabhai Naoroji.

Beparodowalia (22).

C. P.

1899 Congress Committee.

74. Besant, Annie (1847—1933)
M.B. and B. Sc. (Hons. Lond.)

Married Rev. Frank Besant in 1867 but legally separated in 1873. Had one son and a daughter. Mrs. Besant joined the Free Thought and Radical Movement led by Charles Bradlaugh. She was an active member of the Fabian Society. She joined the Theosophical Society in 1889 and became its President in 1907, 1914, 1921 to 1928. Editor, *New India*. President, Theosophical Society (1907—1933). President of the Congress, 1917. Founded the Central Hindu College, Varanasi, 1898.

1914 Reciprocity between India and colonies.

1914, 1915, 1916 Self Government for India.

H. R. 1947 Oct. Nov., a paper by B. Shiva Rao. 1948 January, pp. 31-35 ; Dr. Annie Besant's work for India.

H. R. Oct.-Nov. 1947 a paper by Rukmini Arundale, p. 540.

75. Bhagat Ram (Raizada).

Punjab.

1909 Election of President.

1912 A.I.C.C.

76. Bhagavat Sadashiva Vishnu.

Retired Local Fund Auditor, Amraoti.

1897 Land Revenue Settlement.

1902 Police Commission and Indians.

77. Bhagirath Prasad.

Professor, Nagpur.

1882 Currency question.

1894 Legislative Council.

1895 Fixity of land tenure.

Nomination to Supreme Legislature from C. P.

1896 Reorganisation of Educational Service.

78. Bhana Ram.

1909 Alienation of land.

A. I. C. C. 1911.

Bhandarkar, (Sir) R. G. (23)

(1837 — 1925) Poona.
Famous Orientalist. The University of Gottingen conferred the Ph. D. Degree on him in 1885. B. A. in 1862, M. A. 1863. Became the Head Master of a High School at Hyderabad (Sind) soon afterwards. Professor, Elphinstone College 1868. Joined the Deccan College in 1879. Retired in 1893.

1885 Present in the Congress.
H .R. 1925, pp. 72-77.

79. Bhat, Balakrishna.

Allahabad.
Spoke in Urdu

1899 Teachers should not be prohibited from attending political meetings.

80. Bhatavadekar, Bhalachandra, (Sir), L. M., Bombay.

Fellow, Bombay University 1908. Municipal Commissioner.

1895 Civil Medical Service.

Bhatevadekar, Vishnu Krishna, LL. B. (24)

A. I. C. C. 1911.

81. Bhate, Sadashiva Balkrishna.

Pleader, Belgaum and Member, Local Board,

1888 Reform of Legislative Council.

1891 Forest Law.

1892 Jury trial.

1894 Separation of powers.

1894 Jury system.

1899 Foreign Telegraph Press Message Bill.

82. Bhatia, Sundar Singh,

Pleader, Lahore. Editor.
Daily Times.

1905 Excise Policy.

1909 Dissatisfaction in N.W.F. Provinces.

A. I. C. C. 1911.

Bhattacharyya, Manomohan (1864-1936), M. A. (Sans. II, 1888 Sanskrit College) (25)

Manager, Gauripur Estate (Mymensingh) and Member, Executive Council of National Council of Education, Bengal.

Great enthusiast for education on national line.

Delegate 1906.

Bhattacharya, Beharilal (26)

Lawyer and landlord,
Patna. A. I. C. C. 1916.

83. Bhide, Gopal Hari Rao

(1843-1896). Entered Railway service as a signaller ; became a clerk in the Magistrate's office and read Law ; became a pleader and rose to prominence.

Pleader, Zamindar, Nagpur.
Municipal Commissioner.
An eminent social reformer.
1891 Distress in India and reforms needed.

84. Bhide, Vishnu Moreshwar

Retired Sub-Judge, Poona.
Chairman, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, 1888. Chairman, Reception Committee, 1895, Poona.
1888 Permanent Settlement.
1891 Congress session in England.
1892 State regulated immorality in India.
1894 Invites Congress to Poona
1895 Welcome Address.

85. Bhind, Chanda Singh (Sardar)

Pleader, Ferozepur City.
1893 Separation of Executive from Judiciary.

86. Bhurgri, G. M.

(Mohammedan), Barrister-at-Law, Hyderabad (Sind).
Member, Indian Legislature 1912, 1916 and Bombay Legislature, 1912. Invites Congress to Karachi.
1916 Secretary of the Congress.

87. Biglar, Joseph D. Mellick
(Armenian) Landholder,
Chakdaha (Nadia), Civil Engineer.

1890 Thanks to British Committee and Bradlaugh.

88. Bijapurkar, V. G.

A trusted lieutenant of Tilak.
Bombay.
1906 National Education.
1912 A. I. C. C. (from Burma).

89. Bishwambhar Nath. (1833—1908) (Kashmiri Brahman),
Vakil High Court, Allahabad.
President, N. W. P. and Oudh Association; Vice-President, Reception Committee, Congress (1888), Fellow, Allahabad University, 1899; Member, U. P. Legislative Council and Municipality of Allahabad.
Member, Supreme Council 1896–97. Chairman, Reception Committee, 1892.

1888 Resolution to be sent to the Viceroy.

1892 Welcomes delegates as Chairman; election of President.

1896 Satisfaction at Waoha's delegation.

1896, 1899, 1905 Election of President.

Nagendranath Gupta writes: "A man of high character and scholarly attainment, but greatly advanced in life (in 1892) and without the dynamic energy and galvanizing personality of Pandit Ayodhyanath" (p. 157).

M.R. 1907, Sept. Pp. 229-32 by Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Bistamdas Harchandra. (27)
1912.

90. Bodas, M.M.
Bombay.

1895 Grievances of Third Class Railway Passengers.
1898 Permanent Settlement.

91. Bomanji, S. R.
Bombay.
1917 Election of President.
Immediate implementation of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms.

92. Borah, Satyanath.
Tea-planter, Nowgong, Assam.
1886 Poverty of Indians.
Burjorji, Hosomgaji. (28)
Pleader, Surat.
1885 Foundation Member.

93. Caine, W. S. (1842-1903).
Member, House of Commons 1880, 1886, 1892, 1900.
Secretary, Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, Sholapur.
1890 Modification of the rules and practice of the House of Commons in regard to Indian Budget etc.,

Congress session in England.

1896 Thanks to Wedderburn and British Committee; Protests against periodic settlement of land revenue; Satisfaction at Wacha's delegation in England.
I. R. 1902, p. 130.

94. Cama, Jehangir, K. R.
Barrister-at-law, Bombay.
1890 Thanks the British Committee.

95. Cama, Rustam, K.
Solicitor and Attorney, Bombay High Court.
A. I. C. C 1901.
1897 Exercise of extraordinary power by Government.
1900 Election to Senate suspended.
1901 Famine policy ; Needs of Agriculture.
1902 Separation of Judiciary.

96. Chakradev, Donkar Ballal
Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Sholapur.
1893 Thanks to Northbrooke.
1895 Grievance of Third Class Railway Passengers.

97. Chakravarti, Byomkesh,
M. A. (1878).
(Got a State scholarship to study Agriculture in

England; he also studied Law there ; Professor of Mathematics, Ravenshaw College Cuttack, Joined Bar 20th July 1886.

Defended some accused in the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case.

1917 Vote of thanks.

- 98. Chakravarti, Jogendra Chandra**, M. A. (1894), B. L. (1895).

Secretary, Dinajpur Association.

1914 Protection of Indian Industries.

- 99. Chakravarti, Mohinimohan**, M. A. (1884) B. L. (1886).
Pleader, Pabna. Vice-Chairman, Municipality.

1893 Forced Labour.

1894 Separation of Judiciary.

1895 Fixity of land tenure.

- 100. Chamatmal Gopaldas**.

1913 Presidential election ;
India Council Reform ;
Loyalty to the throne.

1914 Loyalty to the throne.

- 101. Chambers, W. A.**

Civil Engineer, Bombay.

A.I.C.C. 1901.

1893 Exchange Compensation allowance.

1894 Legislative Council.

1895 Expenditure on trans-frontier expedition.

1898 Gagging of the Press.

- Chand, Gokul (29)**

1894 Member, Deputation to the Viceroy.

- Chanda, Kamini Kumar (30)**

(1862—1936) M. A. 1886.

Pleader. Vice-Chairman of Silchar Municipality for 25 years and the first non-official Chairman. Fellow, Calcutta University. Member Assam Legislative Council and the Imperial Legislature 1915—19.

1906 President, Special Session of the Bengal Provincial Conference.

1886 Delegate, Landholder, Habiganj.

1905 Delegate, Silchar.

H. R. 1936, p. 633.

- 102. Chandavarkar, N. G.**

(1855-1923).

Enrolled as a lawyer of Bombay in 1881. Editor, *Indu Prakash* (1878-89) and Bombay's Delegate to England 1885. Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1887, 1899. President of the Congress 1900. Judge, Bombay High Court 1901. Chief Justice 1909.

Dewan of Indore 1914. Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.
1885, 1886 Reform of Legislative Council.

1887 Repeal of the Arms Act.

1888 Simultaneous examination ; Separation of Judiciary ; Omnibus resolution.

1889 Scheme of representation.

He was absent from the Congress between 1890 and 1899, yet he was elevated to the position of the President of the Congress.

1915 Military and Naval training and Volunteering ; Vote of thanks.

He was a great social reformer and mainstay of the Prarthana Samaj.

103 Chand, Lala Bahadur
1915 Military training.

104. Chandik, Bissanath
Bombay.
1894 Omnibus resolution.

105. Chandra, Kshitish
1913 Separation of Judiciary.

Chandra, Rakhalidas (31)

Secretary, District Congress Committee, Birbhum 1910-1911.

106. Chanka, Mehr Singh (Sardar).
1909 Alienation of land law.

107. Chari, Ranga.
Madras.
1894 Omnibus resolution.

108. Chariar, Ramanuja.
Pleader, Chingleput. Member, District Board.
1885 Foundation Member.
1886 Sessions trial.
1892 Jury trial.

Chariar, Ramanuja, V.K. (32)
Kumbakonam
1912, 1916 A. I. C. C.

Chariar, Sriranga, M.E. (33)
Lawyer, Madras.
Foundation Member.

109. Chariar, Veer Raghava M.
(1857-1906), B. A. (1877).

At first a teacher in the Pachiappa's College, Madras. Secretary, Mahajan Sabha, Madras. Joint Editor, *Hindu*.

(See Subba Rao's comment in *Revived Memories*)

1885 Reform of Indian Civil Service.

1890 Advocated the holding of a session of the Congress in London.

1891 Forest laws ; Funds for British Committee.

Blunt writes of Subramania Iyer and Veer Raghava Chariar in November, 1883 : "Intelligent, clear-headed man, contrasting by no means unfavourably with men of their profession in London. Their manners were good and conversation brilliant" (p. 36).

110. Chariar, Venkata C.

Landholder and member, District Board, Salem.
1893 Forest law administration.

111. Chariar, Vijayraghava, C., B. A. (1852—1944).

Lawyer and Municipal Commissioner, Salem, 1892 ; Member, Madras Legislature 1893, 1910, 1914. Member, Imperial Legislature 1913, President, Congress 1920. He was closely associated with the Congress for more than fifty years.

1887 Congress constitution.

1899 Election of President.

1905 Appointment of Gokhale as delegate to England.

1906 Land Tax.

He stayed aloof from the Congress after the Surat split, but joined in 1916.

H. R. 1935, Pp. 419-423 ;
May-June, 1944, Pp. 545-46.

112. Charlu, Ananda, P. (Rai Bahadur) (1843-1908).

Vakil, Madras and Municipal Commissioner. Member, Imperial Legislature 1895-1903 President of the Congress 1891. Joint Secretary with Hume 1892.

1885 India Council Reform.

1885 1886 Reform of Indian Legislative Council.

1886 Verdict of Jury to be accepted as final.

1888 Election of President ; Enquiry into industrial condition ; Appointment of Indians ; Communal question not to be taken up by Congress.

1890 Election of President.

1892 Election of President ; reform of Legislative Council.

1893 Criticism of judicial decree by the Executive deprecated.

1894 Medical service ; separation of Judiciary ; vote of thanks.

1895 Election of President ; Cotton duty.

1896, 1898, 1901 Election of President.

1897 Confidence in Naoroji. Invites next Congress to Madras.

1901 British Committee and circulation of *India*.

1906 Swadeshi.

G. P. Pillai says ; "He is diminutive in appearance, but when he appears on the platform, he swells and developes into importance".

"He loves theatres, he loves school boys, he is willing to preside at any function, public or private and is ever ready to speak".

113. Chatterjee, B. C.

(Brahmo) Barrister-at-law, Calcutta.

1906 Delegate, representing Indian Association.

1916 Volunteering and Commission in the Army.

114. Chatterjee, Bishunpada,
d. 1914, M.A. (1881 from Hugli College), B. L. (1883 from the same College).

Pleader, Judge's Court, Hoogli and Municipal Commissioner.

A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

1890 Omnibus resolution.

1894 Poverty of India.

1896 Simultaneous examination.

1905 Administration of Justice
1906, 1908 Separation of
Judiciary from the Executive.

1911 Police Administration.

115. Chatterjee, Hariprasad,
M. A. (1888 from Presidency College).

Pleader, Krishnagar (Nadia), Municipal Commissioner and later Chairman.

1892 Grant for higher education.

1896 Drain and poverty.

1897 Amendment of Criminal Procedure Code investing Magistrates with discretionary powers.

1903 University Bill.

116. Chatterjee, Mohinimohan,
M. A. (1879), B.L. (1882, Presidency College). Attorney, Calcutta.

1890 Salt tax.

117. Chatterjee, Ramananda,
(1865-1943), B. A. Hons. 1st., M. A. I Class in English 1889.

Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad. Editor, *Modern Review*, *Prabasi* (Bengali) and *Vishal Bharat* (Hindi).

1898 Invites next Congress to U.P.

1905 Education.

In 1904 C.Y. Chintamani said in the Congress : "In Allahabad, a gentleman of the ability and experience of Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, an educational expert who had

done more valuable service to the cause of education in the United Provinces than almost any other Indian gentlemen that I know of, has been removed from the Senate to make room for a lawyer who lays claim to no qualification such as he possesses" (Report, p. 93).

H. R. Oct-Nov. 1943, p. 256 ; also an article by Kali Nath Ray, Pp. 219-223 of the same issue.

Chatterjee, Satish Chandra,
M. A. (34)

A. I. C. C. 1917.

118. Chatterjee, Sitalakanta.

Pleader, Meerut. Representative Meerut Association. 1886 Verdict of Jury ; Poverty of India.

119. Chatterjee, Srishchandra,
B. L. (1888 from Ripon College). Pleader, Dacca.

1916 Defence of India Act and Deportation.

1917 Protest against the arming of the Executive with additional powers to deal with the alleged revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal.

120. Chattier, P. Somasundaram.
Merchant, Madras. Vice-President, Madras Mahajan Sabha.

1887 Reform of Legislative Council.

1894 Vote of thanks.

121. Chaudhuri, Asutosh, (1860-1924) M. A. (Cal. 1881), B. A. (Cantab.), LL. B. (Cantab.).

His father Durgadas was a pupil of Dr. Richardson in the Hindu College.

He was the last student to take the B. A. and M. A. degrees simultaneously. Went to England in 1881. Joined Bar 29th April, 1886. Barrister-at-law, later Judge, Calcutta High Court, Zamindar, Haripur, Pabna. Founder-Secretary, Bengal Landholders' Association. President, Bengal Provincial Conference, Fellow, Calcutta University (1906).

A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

1886 Delegate.

1890 Expenses to British Committee.

1900 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

1901 Education.

1904, 1905 Partition of Bengal.

1906 Boycott; Self-Government or Swaraj.

1908 Education.

1909 Condemns extra-ordinary powers of Government regarding deportation etc.

1911 Thanks the Government for creating the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

Modification of regulations made under 1909 Act urged.

122. Chaudhuri, Jogesh Chandra, born on the 28th June, 1864, M. A. (Cal. 1886), B. A. (Oxon.). For sometime Professor of Chemistry and Physics in the Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta. Barrister-at-law, Calcutta 18th March, 1895. Editor, *Calcutta Weekly Notes*. Member, Bengal Legislative Council (1906). Married Sarasibala, third daughter of Surendranath Banerjee. Organising Secretary, Indian Industrial Exhibition in Calcutta in 1901-1902 and 1906-1907.

A. I. C. C. 1911, 1917.

1892 Indians in Public Service.

1893 Separation of Judiciary.

1897 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

1898 Local self-government.

1900 Admission to Cooper's Hill College.

1902 Education.

1903 Partition of Bengal.

1905 Expansion and reform of Legislature.

1910 Seditious Meetings Act.

1911 Indians in colonies.

1913 Press Act ; Indians in South Africa.

1914 Army Service.

1917 Internment of Ali Brothers. Protests against vesting of additional powers in the Executive.

J. Keir Hardie writes in his *India—Impression and Suggestions* (1909) that he went to Serajganj with Mr. Jogesh Chowdhuri, Barrister-at-law, who was educated at Oxford and belonged to the moderate section of the Reform Party. They were about to visit a prison when the local Magistrate “suddenly wheeled round, and speaking in the tone used by a half-caste warder when giving orders to the native prisoners, he shouted—specially directing his words and pointing to Mr. Chowdhuri—“Get out of the prison compound”. The tone and the manner of the man were offensive in the extreme and Mr. Chowdhuri similarly suggested that he should not speak in that manner to him, as he was doing no harm. This only seemed to enrage the Magistrate, and he kept shouting

at intervals of about twenty seconds : Get out of the prison compound ; the public road is your place". Mr. Chowdhury explained to him who he was; that he had held a seat in the Provincial Legislative Council, and so on. "But this only seemed to make the irate magistrate more angry" (p.20).

- 123. Chaudhuri, Kishorimohon,**
M.A.(1884 Presidency College),
B.L. (1886 Metropolitan).

Lawyer, Rajshahi.

A.I.C.C. 1910-1911.

1914 Reform of the India
Council.

- 124. Chaudhury, Manmathanath.**
Zamindar, Santosh.

1900 Excise Policy.

- 125. Chaudhury, Muhammad**
Roshan Ali.
Faridpur.

1911 Thanks for annulling the
partition of Bengal.

- 126. Chaudhury, Parvati Sankar.**
Dacca.

1904 Indebtedness of peasantry.

- Chaudhuri, Prabhu Dayal. (35)**
Pleader, Agra.
1885 Foundation Member.

- Chaudhury, Ramkali (36)**
Retired Subordinate
Judge, Varanasi.

1885 Foundation Member.

- 127. Chaudhury Yatindranath,**
M. A., B. L.

b. 1863. His great-grand-father Ramkanta Ray Chaudhuri was the Munshi of Warren Hastings, Zamindar, Baranagar (Calcutta). Fellow, Calcutta University. 1896 Secretary, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in 1906.

1887 Income tax; resolution to
be sent to Viceroy.

1893 Criticism of Judicial
decree by Executive
deprecated.

1895 Law Touts; Invites Cong-
ress to Calcutta.

1896 Provincial contracts.

1899 Omnibus resolution.

1901 Needs of agriculture.

1904 Education.

1905 Invites Congress to
Calcutta.

1908 Indians in South Africa.
A. I. C. C. 1901, 1917.

- 128. Chayala, Ghulam Ali, G.**
1913 Vote of thanks.

- 129. Chellaram Lokmal.**
Merchant, Karachi.

1910 Swadeshi.

1913 Vote of thanks.

130. Chester, B. H.

Professor, Doveton College
in Mathematics and Physical
Science, Madras.
1887 Technical education.

Chitnavis, G.M, C.I.E. (37)

Member, Imperial Legis-
lative Council, 1910.
A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

131. Chetti, Venkata Rangiya,
Madras.

1895 Medical service ; Forest
administration.

132. Chintamani, Yajneswara,
(1880-1941).

Journalist, Ganjam. Pro-
prietor and Editor, *Indian
Herald* (1899), Amraoti. Editor
of the *Leader*.

Member, Legislative Coun-
cil, U. P. 1916-23, 1927-36.
Secretary, National Liberal
Federation 1918-20, 1923-29,
Minister, U. P. 1921-1923.

A.I.C.C. 1911, 1917

1899 Famine.

1900 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

1901 Cost of British troops.

1902, 1903 Reduction of Salt
Tax.

1906 Indians in colonies.

1909 Legislature for C. P. and
Berar.

1910 Swadeshi.

1911, 1912 Indians in colonies.
1912 Reform of Legislative
Council.

Ref. *Hindustan Review*
July 1941, Pp. 71-73.

133. Chiplunkar, Sitaram Hari.

Secretary, Poona Sarva-
janik Sabha and Editor of its
Quarterly Journal

1885 India Council ; Customs
duties.

134. Chisti, Mohurram Ali.

Editor, *Rafiq Hind*, Lahore.

1893, 1900 Election of President.

1900 Enquiry into economic
condition ; Deputation to
Viceroy (spoke in Urdu).

1901 Cadet Corps for princes.

135. Chitale, Ganapati Krishna,
B. A., LL. B.

Secretary, District Cong-
ress Committee, Ahmadnagar
1910-11.

1908 Swadeshi.

1910 Elementary education.

136. Choti Lal, M. A.

1889 Plate duties.

137. Chetty, S. Narayan Swami,

Pleader. Member, Muni-
cipality and District Board,
Nellore.

1886 Expansion of Legislative
Council.

138. Churamani.

Pleader, Hissar.
1900 Enquiry into economic
condition.

139. Clark, C. B. (Dr.),

Member of Parliament.

1908 Satisfaction at Morley's
Despatch ; Indians in
South Africa.

140. Cotton, Sir Henry (1845-1915), I.C.S. (1867)

Member, House of Com-
mons 1905. President of the
Congress 1904

His family served India
for five generations.

Joseph Cotton (middle of the
18th century under
E. I. Co.)

John Cotton (arrived in Madras
1800 ; Collector, Tanjore
for 15 years).

Joseph John Cotton (Madras
Civilian 1831-1863).

Henry J. S. Cotton (President
of the Congress).

His son Julian James
Cotton, I.C.S. 1893 in Madras.

141. Cowley, T.P.

Mechanical Engineer,
Allahabad.
1888 Income tax.

Currimbhoy Fazalbhoy (Sir).

(38)

(1872—)

Merchant and Millowner,
Khoja Muhammedan, Member,
Bombay Legislative Council
1910-1912 and of the Imperial
Legislative Council 1913-1916.
1915 Delegate.

142. Dalvi, D. G., M.A., LL. B.

Pleader, Bombay.

1888 Delegate.

1912 Public Services Com-
mission.

1913 Press Act ; appointment
of new Secretaries.

143. Dar, Bishan Narayan,

(1864-1916).

Barrister-at-law, Lucknow.
Editor, *The Advocate*. First in
the Kashmiri Brahmana com-
munity to go to England.

1887, 1888, 1889, 1890 Reform
of Legislative Council.

1892 Distress of people and
reduction of cost of
administration.

1893 Reformed and enlarged
Legislative Council.

1894 Omnibus resolution.

1897 Law of sedition.

1903 Official Secrets Bill.

1905 Public Service question.

- 144. Das, Akshoy Kumar** (spelt as **Okhoy Coomar Dass**)
d. 1892.

Pleader. Secretary, Peoples' Association, Howrah.

1891 Reform in Police and Judicial Administration.

W. C. Bonnerjee in his Presidential address, 1892, said "Okhoy Coomar Dass was a younger man but still, his energy was great, and as a public man he outshone many of his contemporaries in Lower Bengal. It was due to him that many abuses in our Courts of Justice were exposed, and it was due to him that Howrah owes its standing Congress Committee."

- 145 Das, Chittaranjan** (1870-1925)

Joined the Bar 26th April, 1894 after an unsuccessful attempt to enter the I.C.S. President of the Congress 1921; founded along with Motilal Nehru the Swaraj party in 1923.

1917 Implementation of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms.

Sir Charles Tegart, Late Commissioner of Calcutta, said on the 1st. November, 1932 at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society, London :

"One of the earliest acts of Mr. C. R. Das, when elected Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation was to call for application for appointment from those who had suffered in the country's cause. The result had been that for years this civic body has provided terrorists and their relatives with jobs, largely in the capacity of teachers" (*Supplement to the Review of India*, Nov. 1932, p. 16).

- 146. Das, Lachhman, B.**

Medical Practitioner, Ajmer. Proprietor and Manager *Rajputana Malwa Times* and *Rajputana Patrika*.
1896 Famine.

Das, Gobardhan.

Das, Gopabandhu (39)

Pleader, Cuttack.

1910 Delegate.

- 147. Das, Harnam.**

1909 Regulations under 1909 Act should be changed.

Das, Iswar Chandra. (40)

Chairman, Dacca Municipality. Member, District Board. Secretary. Peoples' Association, Dacca.

Das, Lalitmohan, M. A. (41)

Calcutta.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

148. Dasgupta, Nibaran Chandra.
Pleader, Barisal.

1906 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

1910 Partition of Bengal.

149. Das, Madhusudan (1848-1934)

M. A. (1873). (Name mis-
printed in 1887 report p. 103
as Mohan Sudan Das).

(Christian), Pleader (B.L.1878),
Cuttack. Member, Bengal
Legislative Council in 1896,
1897, 1900-1903 and 1908-1911
Member, Bihar and Orissa
Council 1913-1923. He rose to
be a Minister but resigned at
the age of 75.

1887 Expansion of Legislative
Council.

1911 Swadeshi ; Land Settle-
ment.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

Madhusudan Das was the
first Oriya graduate of the
Calcutta University. Nevinson
says that he had the reputation
of being a saint. He used to
intercede with the Government
officials on behalf of poor
villagers and incurred their
displeasure (*The New Spirit in
India*, Pp 147-49).

Lecturer in Law, Raven-
shaw College, Cuttack 1883-
1890. He was the pioneer in
the movement for having a
separate province for Orissa.

He started a weekly paper,
Called *The Oriya* in Dec. 1917.

H. R. January 1934,
Pp. 229-30.

150. Das, Mathura.

1909 Alienation of Land law.

151. Das, Nibaran Chandra,
B. L. (1889).

Bakerganj.

1893 Education.

1896 Gagging the Press in
Native States under British
administration.

152. Das, Pulin Chandra.

Pleader, Chittagong.

1910 Education.

153. Das, Radha Krishna.

1916 Arms Act.

Das, Raghunath.

**154. Das, Satish Ranjan (b. 29 Feb.-
1872) (Brahmo).**

Joined as Barrister-
at-law, Calcutta High Court,
6th Aug. 1894, Land-
holder. Married Bonolata,
daughter of B.L. Gupta, I.C.S.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

1905 Representation of Indians
in Parliament, India
Council and Executive
Councils.

155. **Datta, Aswini Kumar** (1896-1923). He passed the First Arts exam. in the First Division in 1872 and the B. A. exam. in 1878. M.A. (1879), B.L. (1880)

Pleader, Barisal. Secretary, Peoples' Association. Chairman, Local Board. Member, District Board. Vice-Chairman, Barisal Municipality (1890). He gave up his practice at the Bar and joined the Brojo Mohan Institution as a Professor of English and served in that capacity for 17 years without taking any remuneration. He spent a large amount on the building and equipments of the College. He is a prominent writer in Bengali Literature. He was the President of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Dacca in 1913.

A. I. C. C. 1911.

1886 Delegate.

1887 Reform of Legislative Council.

A petition signed by 45,000 persons praying to the House of Commons for Reforms produced.

1898 Constitution of the Congress.

Bipin Chandra Pal in his *Spirit of Indian Nationalism* writes : "Born of rich parents, Aswini Kumar was laid under no necessity to work for a living. Not blessed with any children, he had not to provide for the future of even a large family, without any son, he adopted, one might say, the entire school-going population of his district as his own, and devoted all his substances to their education".

"His word was law to the people ; and when he declared that no one shall buy or sell foreign goods any more, most people accepted it at once as a sacred injunction. It was not the result of any terror that the Boycotters had established in the town, but simply the natural result of the loving regard in which the people held their leader. A European resident of the place wanted a few yards of grey shirting and sent his servant to the market to buy a piece. But no one would sell any foreign goods. The matter was reported to the Superintendent of Police, and he sent a constable to the market to buy a piece of Manchester shirting for his friend. The constable was no more successful than the butler.

Every trader refused to sell any foreign cloth without a permit from Aswini Babu. The matter was reported to the Magistrate, who wrote a letter to Aswini Kumar, stating the facts, and asking him for a permit for a piece of Manchester shirting for his European friend" (p. 88ff.). The incident revealed the dangerous decline of the prestige and moral authority of the British Executive in Barisal.

156. Datta Chaudhuri, Rambhuj
d. 6th Aug. 1923.

Lawyer, Lahore. An eminent leader of the Arya Samaj. As two of his wives died he married Sarala Devi (1872-1945), the daughter of Janakinath Ghosal and niece of Poet Tagore in 1905.

Rambhuj Datta Chaudhuri took a leading part in 1919 in the agitation against the Rowlatt Act. He was sentenced to transportation for an indefinite period but was released before the Amritsar Congress session in 1919. He died on the 6th August, 1923 and his wife, Sarala Devi on the 18th August, 1945.

1900 Employment of Indians.

1905 Famine, Economic enquiry and Land policy.

1908 Army service. New Military charges.

1909, 1910 Regulations framed under the Reforms Act of 1909.

1911 Election of President; Thanks Government for annulling the Partition; Modification of Regulations made under 1909 Act.

1912 Reform of Legislative Council.

1913 Indians in Australia.

157. Dutta, Hirendranath, (1868-1942) M. A. (English I 1889) B. L. (1893).

Enrolled as Attorney, April 1894, Calcutta.

Eminent philosopher and Theosophist.

1897 Royal Commission on Indian expenditure.

1906 National Education.

158. Dutta, K. B. (1861-1940)

President, Midnapore District Conference.

1915 Executive Council for U.P. H. R. 1941, p. 671.

159. Dutt, Ramesh Chandra. (1848-1909)

District Magistrate 1883. Commissioner, Orissa 1894.

Great Economist, Historian and Litterateur.

Lived in England 1897-1904 ; was Lecturer in Indian History, University College, London. Introduced important reforms as the Dewan of Baroda.

President of the Congress 1899.

1905 Election of President ; Administration of Justice.

Datta, Ullaskar (42)

Talukdar, village Kalikachchha, P.O. Brahmanbaria. Convicted in Alipur Bomb Case.

Delegate No. 324 in 1906.

(Son of Dwijadas Datta, Professor of Agriculture in the Shibpore Engineering College and Talukdar of Village Kalikachchha, Brahmanbaria.

Ullaskar told the trying Magistrate Birley that his occupation was that of a cow-keeper. This has been taken seriously. He used to manufacture Bomb in his own laboratory.

Daulatram, Jai Ramdas (43)

Pleader, Hyderabad (Sind). Later on Governor of Bihar and Assam.

Delegate No, 2392, 1917.

160. Dave, Ratiram Durgaram.

Articled Clerk in a Solicitor's Firm, Bombay.

Fellow, Bombay University.

1893 Forced Labour.

161. Dayal Raghbir.

Punjab.

1906 Education.

162. Deoskar, Lakshman Rao Govind.

Pleader, Member, District Council, Wardha.

1890 Congress Session in London.

163. Desai, Ambalal Sakarlal, (1844-1915) M.A. LL.B.

Ahmedabad. Former, Chief Justice, Baroda, Chairman, Reception Committee

1902 Ahmedabad.

1895 Freedom of Press.

1902 Reception Committee Chairman ; Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

1903 University Bill.

1904 Utilisation of surplus of Budget.

1905 Parliamentary control over Indian affairs.

1906 Education.

- 164. Desai Bhulabhai, J (1877-1946),**
 M.A., LL.B.
 Sometime Professor of History and Economics, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.
 Advocate, Bombay.
 Delegate 1908, 1915.
 1917 Depressed classes.
- 165. Desai, J. V.**
 Ahmedabad.
 1902 Salt tax ; Vote of thanks to the British Committee.
- 166. Deo, Sadashiv Moreshwar.**
 Pleader and Ijardar, Yeotmal.
 1897 Petition to Parliament regarding contribution to the cost of Frontier War (spoke in Marathi).
- 167. Desai, K. G.**
 1908 Education.
- 168. Desai, Khandu Bhai (Rao Bahadur).**
 Retired Executive Engineer, Surat.
 A. I. C. C. 1910.
 1909 Public Service.
- 169. Desai, K. B.**
 Ahmedabad.
 1895 Jury trial to be extended.
- 170. Desai, U. L.**
 1903, 1908 Indians in South Africa.
- 171. Deshmukh, Krishnaji Narayan.**
 Leader, Banker, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board, Wardha.
 1894 Jury trial.
 1896 Drain and poverty.
- 172. Deshmukh, Manik Nago Rao.**
 Landlord, Nagpur.
 1905 Famine, Economic enquiry and Land revenue.
- 173. Deshmukh, M. G.**
 Medical Practitioner, Bombay.
 1894 Medical Service.
 1906 Land tax.
- 174. Deshpande, Krishna Rao Govinda.**
 Professor, Morris College, Nagpur.
 1888 Income tax.
- 175. Deshpande, K. G.**
 Pleader, Malguzar and Agriculturist, Nagpur.
 1891 Distress of people and reforms needed.
- 176. Desikachari, V.C., B.A., B.L.**
 Vakil, Coimbatore. Member, Legislative Council, Madras (1904). Fellow, Madras University 1903. Member, Madras

Legislative Council, 1904-1908.
1898 Expenditure on plague.
1904 Indebtedness of peasantry.

Devale, C. S. (44)

Servants of India Society,
Poona. Secretary, District
Congress Committee, Kolaba
1910-1911.

177. Dev Ratan (Pandit)

1909 Indians in South Africa.

178. Dev, S. S.

Bombay.
1895 Forest administration
(spoke in Marathi).
1899 Famine.

179. Devadass, M. D.

1914 Loyalty to the throne.

180. Devadhar, Gopal Krishna

(1871-1935) M.A. 1904. Joined
in 1905 The Servants of India
Society, Bombay. Secretary
of the Poona Seva Sadan
Society, started in 1909.

1910 Conciliation Boards.

1914 Protection of Indian
Industries.

A.I.C.C. 1917.

H. R. 1935, Pp. 423-25.

181. Dharmasi, Abdulla Mehralli.

Solicitor, Bombay.
1885 Foundation Member.
1889 Thanks the President.

182. Dharmsey, Jamnadas

Dwarkadas.

1916 Propaganda work for the
Congress to be carried
throughout the year.

1917 Release of Ali Brothers
(Name of the speaker in
the Report simply as
Dwarkadas Jamnadas).

183. Dhruva, Harilal Harshadrail

(d. 1866.)

Pleader and Municipal
Commissioner, Surat. Secre-
tary, Praja Hitavardhaka
Sabha, Broach.

1885 Resolution of the Cong-
ress to be sent to all
Political Associations.

1886 Jury trial

1887 Expansion of Legislative
Council.

R. Sayani said that he
was a scholar of European
reputation, and added that his
"zeal and enthusiasm for the
Congress knew no bounds ; he
went from village to village
pleading the Congress cause,
and spared neither time nor
money in its advocacy (CPA
357.)"

Digby, William (1849-1904).

Journalist. Editor of the
Madras Times (1877-1879)
Edited the Congress organ

India for a short time. He was a prominent member of the Indian Political Agency in London from 1887 to 1892.

1888 Sub-committee.

Hindustan Review 1905
Sept. Pp. 249-255.

- 184. Dixit, Hari Sitaram, B.A.,**
LL. B., Lawyer, Bombay.
Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1908.
1901 Cost of British troops.
1904 Indebtedness of peasantry.
1909 Regulation III Deportation should be repealed.

- 185. Dixit, V. R.**
Barrister-at-law, Nagpur.
A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.
1910 Education.

Doctor, Monilal, M., M. A.,
LL. B. (45).
Barrister-at-law, Port
Louis, Mauritius.
Delegate 1910.

- 186. Dravid, Natesh Rao Appaji,**
M.A. (1872—1952)
Member, Servants of India
Society, Nagpur.
Editor, *Dnyan Prakash*.
1909 Legislature for C. P. and
Berar.
1910 Enquiry Commission
regarding expenditure.
1911, 1912 Local Self Govern-
ment.
1914 Loyalty to throne.

- 187. Dunichand.**

Lahore

A. I. C. C. 1911.

1900 Discussion on adminis-
tration and industrial
problem.
1916 Press Act.

- 188. Dvivedi, Girijasankar**
Kashiram

Editor, *Rajya Bhukta* and
Swadhinata, Bombay.
1888 Salt tax.

- 189. Dwarkanath, B. A., LL. B.**
(d. 1938).

Zamindar, Muzaffarpur.
Member, Bihar and Orissa
Legislative Council, 1912, 1916.
Fellow, Calcutta and Patna
Universities.
1910, 1911 Swadeshi.
1912 Public Service Commis-
sion ; Reform of Legis-
lative Council.
1915 Industrial development
(spoke in Hindi)
1916 Volunteering and commo-
tion in Asia.

- 190. Dwarlu, Venkateswara, V.**

Madras.

1911 Land Settlement.

- 191. Evans, T.**

Missionary, Lahore. Tem-
perance Speaker.
1889 *Abkari* policy.
1892 Omnibus resolution.

Fathechand, Revachand (46)
Secretary, District Congress
Committee, 1910-1911.

- 192. Gadgil, Govinda Kashinath,**
Poona.
1906 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.
1908 Indians in South Africa.
1914 Despatch of Indian Ex-
peditionary force.

Gajjan Singh Sardar. (47)
Pleader, Lahore.
1893 Reform of Legislative
Council (spoke in Urdu).

Gandhi, Chunnilal M. (48)
Lawyer, Surat.
Secretary, Surat District
Congress Committee 1910-1911.

- 193. Gandhi, Mohandas Karam-
chand. (1869-1948)**
Called to the Bar 1889 ;
to South Africa 1893. Returned
in 1901 but went to South
Africa again, finally returned
to India in 1915. President of
the Congress in 1924.
1901 South Africa and Indians
(Resolution VI).
1915 India and colonies.

"If it was not the custom
unfortunately inherited for the
last 30 years that the language,
the predominant language in
this assembly should be Eng-

lish, our Madras friends will
have taken good care to learn
one of the Northern vernac-
ulars, and then there are men
enough from South Africa
who would tell you in one of
our own tongues the difficul-
ties that we have to go through
even now in South Africa"
(Report, p. 63).

G.A. Natesan in support-
ing the Resolution said: "The
brave and victorious general,
who has just returned to his
motherland after winning, in
a brave feat of arms with
weapons unique and almost
unparalleled in the history of
the world has spoken on the
question".

1916 Indentured Labour.

1917 Indians in colonies (spoke
in Hindi and his speech
is not reported).

- 194. Gangadhar, Mahadev.**
Bombay.(May be same as
Gangadhar Rao Madho
Chitnavis) (b. 1863) President
of the Dist. Council, Nagpur
in 1888. Member, Supreme
Legislature 1893-1895. He is
said to have been offered the
Presidentship of Indian Na-
tional Congress in 1900 but
declined the offer owing to
short notice.
1895 Forest administration.

195. Ganguli, Dwarakanath

(20 April, 1844—27 June, 1898)

Assistant Secretary, Indian Association, Calcutta.

1886 Simultaneous examination.

1887 Military Service.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

1896 Permanent Settlement ;
Agricultural Banks and
Technical schools.

196. Ganguly, Kadambini (Mrs.)

Medical Practitioner,
Calcutta.

1890 Vote of thanks.

She was Miss Bose. She
married Dwarakanath Ganguly
See P. 235.

197. Ganguli, K. C.

1913 Separation of Judiciary.

198. Gautz, W. S.

(Eurasian) Barrister-at-law,
Madras.

1887 Member, Rules Com-
mittee ; Expansion of
Legislative Council ;
Military Service.

199. Garlam Rubani, Nawab.

Calcutta.

1890 President's election.

200. Garland, Miss

Represented British Com-
mittee of the Congress.

1899 Local option.

201. Garud, Dhondo Shamrao.

Solicitor, Bombay, Mem-
ber, Bombay Legislative Coun-
cil, 1897.

1890 Congress session in
Bombay.

1897 Land Revenue Settlement.

1898 Welcomes Lord Curzon.

202. Gazhnavi, A. H.

Zamindar, Muktagachha,
brother of A. K. Gazhnavi,
who became a member in
Bengal.

1905 Repressive measures in
Bengal.

He informed the Congress
that the Gurkha soldiers had
been posted at Barisal and they
"have been plundering and
assaulting men and women and
have been outraging women
too". He further added,
"Government officials presided
over public meetings and they
told the Muhammedans that the
Hindus were not their friends
and "that it is to your interests
that you must not be united
with Hindus. You will find
it in the Koran that Hindus
and Muhammedans should not
join together" (Report p. 77).

He presided over a big
Swadeshi meeting held at
Sirajganj (Pabna) in 1907, in
which Surendranath Banerjee

delivered an inspiring address. He also presided over the Swadeshi-boycott celebration on the 7th August, 1908.

M. R. 1908, p. 267, also his photo.

203. Ghate, Khvaja.

1917 Bengal Internment.

Ghosh, Aurobindo (Sri)
(1872-1950) (49).

Secured the eleventh position at the I. C. S. Examination in July 1890, but failed in riding test. Professor in the Baroda College 1893-1905. Principal, National College, Calcutta 1906. Delegate No. 120, 1906

Leader of Extremists at Surat Congress, 1907 and presided over their conference.

Present as a visitor at Ahmedabad Congress, where he met Tilak. Was present in the Bombay Congress, 1904 and was a delegate in the Calcutta Congress 1906. Took a leading part in the Surat Congress. He writes : It was I (without consulting Tilak) who gave the order that led to the breaking of the Congress and was responsible for the refusal to join the new fangled Moderate Convention which

were the two decisive happenings at Surat" (*Sri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother*, p. 81).

Nevinson writes : "In an age of supernatural religion Aurobindo would have become what the irreligious mean by a fanatic. He was possessed by that concentrated vision, that limited and absorbing devotion. Like a horse in blinkers, he ran straight, regardless of everything except the narrow bit of road in front. But at the end of the road he saw a vision more inspiring and spiritual than any fanatic saw who rushed on death with Paradise in sight.....Grave with intensity, careless of fate or opinion and one of the most silent men I have known, he was of the stuff that dreamers are made of, but dreamers who will aot their dream, indifferent to the means" (p. 226).

M.R. 1909 Nov.—pp. 476-487 by Jitendra Lal Banerjee.

204. Ghosh, Charu Chandra (1874-1934).

Vakil and Zamindar, Calcutta. Judge, Calcutta High Court 1919-1934.

1898 Frontier policy.

- 1903 Military expenditure ;
Thanks Government for
the Co-operative Societies
Bill.
H. R. 1934 Oct., p. 279.
- 205. Ghosh, Dharendra Chandra**
Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta.
1915 Imperial Conference.
1917 Press Act of 1910.
- 206. Ghosh, Jogendra Chandra**
M. A. (1882), B. L. (1883).
Enrolled as Vakil, High
Court, Calcutta, 2nd May, 1884.
1887 Income tax
1896 Repeal of the Inland
Emigration Act.
1901 Raising the wages of
coolies in Assam.
- 207. Ghosh, J. N., M.D.**
(Brahmo) Medical Practitioner, Calcutta.
1911 Sanitation.
- 208. Ghosh, Lalmohan** (1849-1909).
Went to England in 1869
and joined Bar in 1873. He
was selected by the Indian
Association as its delegate to
England for carrying on propa-
ganda for simultaneous exami-
nation. He went to England
again in 1880 and achieved
great renown as a powerful
speaker. In 1883 he delivered
speeches both in India and in
England in connection with the
Ilbert Bill controversy. He
stood as a Liberal candidate
for election to the House of
Commons in 1884. His failure
paved the way for the
future success of Dadabhai
Naoroji. He was President
of the Congress in 1903 and
member of the Bengal Legis-
lative Council 1893-95.
1890 Expansion and reform of
Legislative Council.
1896 Vote of thanks.
1906 Vote of thanks to the
Chair.
See Chintamani's article
on him in the *Hindustan Review*
1903, pp. 569-586, where it is
stated on the authority of his
brother Monomohan that he
did not find practising law
congenial to him and therefore
did not shine at the Bar,
though he was the greatest
orator in India.
- 209. Ghosh, Monomohan**
(1844-1896). Son of Ram
Lochan Ghosh, a friend of
Rammohan Roy and a Subor-
dinate Judge.
Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta.
Elder brother of Lalmohan
Ghosh. Wrote in 1896 a
treatise on the separation of
Judiciary from the Executive.
Founded the *Indian Mirror*

in 1861. Appeared at the I. C. S. Examination in 1864 and 1865 but on account of sudden change of rules could not succeed, though he got higher marks than Satyendra Nath Tagore.

1886 Felicitations ; Verdict of the Jury to be accepted as final ; Sessions trial ; Poverty of the people of India (spoke twice on the subject).

1888 Simultaneous examination.

1890 Welcomes delegates as Chairman ; Orders regarding attendance of Government officials in Congress.

1895 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

See Jogindra Nath Basu's article on him in the *Hindustan Review*, 1903, pp. 81-88.

210. Ghosh, Motilal (1847-1922)

Editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (1897). Member, District Board, Jessore. Delegate 1886.

1897 Confidence in Dadabhai Naoroji.

A. I. C. C. 1901, 1916.

Nevinson writes of him : "Devoted Vaisnava as Motilal is, one would think his guiding faith was a sort of clanship or family affection...

Almost, every one seems to be Motilal's relation, and as, like many Hindus, he speaks of his cousins as brothers, and his nephews as sons, the bonds of kinship seem as close as they are wide. But the affection of his heart is reserved for, his real born brother, Sisir Kumar, who now has waived adieu to this carnal world and lives in religious seclusion at Baidyanath..... Humorous, sarcastic, vehement, probably a little peevish, a little uncertain and unstable in his dealings with men and things, Moti Lal moves as a strange and isolated figure in Indian life. He is ageing and rather feeble now ; when I asked him if he was going to the Congress at Surat, he answered, "No, I can not afford to die". But he went all the same. I suppose he might be called a Congressman, but it seems unlikely that any one ever thought of him as a possible President". (*The New Spirit in India*, 1908, p. 214).

211. Ghosh, N.N. (1854-1909).

Editor, *Indian Union and Indian Nation*. Municipal Commissioner. Principal, Metropolitan College, Calcutta. Joined the Calcutta Bar September, 1876.

(son of a Headmaster of Bogra).

1896 Separation of Judiciary.

Ref. *Hindustan Review*, 1909, p. 515.

212. Ghosh, Pearylal, B.A. (1900).

1901 Economic problems of India.

1903 Employment of Indians.

213. Ghosh, Rash Behari (1845-1921) M. A., (Hons. in English I 1866), B. L. 1867 (Hons. in Law 1871), D. L. (1884).

Lawyer, Calcutta. Enrolled as Vakil 5th February, 1867. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1889, Imperial Legislative Council 1891, 1893. President, Faculty of Law, Calcutta University 1893-1895. Member of the Syndicate, 1887-89.

1906 Chairman, Reception Committee.

1907-08 President of the Congress.

He was a member of the Congress delegation to England, 1917. He presided over the joint session of Indian Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League at Calcutta in 1917.

Ref. *Hindustan Review* January 1907, pp. 71-77; December 1907, pp. 533-540.

214. Ghoshal, J

Editor, *Indian Union*, Allahabad.

1885 Enquiry into the condition of India ; Customs Duty. Contemporary Memoirs reveal that 214 is the same as 215.

215. Ghoshal, Janakinath (1840-1913).

For some time a Deputy Magistrate.

Zamindar, Merchant. Mill-owner. Municipal Commissioner for many years. Trustee, Adi Brahma Samaj. Secretary, Bethune College (1897) [husband of Swarnakumari Devi (1855-1932)—a sister of Rabindranath Tagore]. Compiled a book entitled "Celebrated Trials in India".

Delegate 1886.

1890 Secretary, Calcutta Session of Congress Reception Committee.

1891 Funds for British Committee.

1893 Election of Secretary of Congress ; Vote of thanks.

1900 Indian Mines Bill.

A. I. C. C. 1901, 1911.

PP. writes that if Hume was the father of the Congress, Ghosal was its mother, and Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao and Mr. S. Subramania

Iyer were the nurses that assisted at its birth.

"Mr. Ghosal is the right hand man of the Congress President, who always sits to the President's left at the Congress. He is the President's Encyclopaedia, his authority, his mainstay, his backbone, his adviser, his high priest, his plaything.

"Jovial, amiable, of winning manners, the very pink of politeness, with a rich supply of entertaining anecdotes and ever ready to give you the history of things unknown, Mr. Ghosal keeps roaring with laughter. Above all, he is the happy husband of his wife, the accomplished Miss Tagore (Swarnakumari), once editor of the only journal for women in India and the mother of an Indian civilian and a lady graduate. (Sarala Devi 1872-1945)."

216. Ghosal, Lalitmohan
(Brahmo) Calcutta.

1901 Raising wages of coolies in Assam.

1906 Indians in colonies.

217. Giridhardas, Mangaldas Seth
Bombay
1902 Excise Duty.

218. Goenka, Ram Kumar

1910 Conciliation Boards.

219. Gokhale, Gopal Krishna
(May 9, 1866—Feb 19, 1915)
He passed the B. A. examination in 1884 from the Elphinstone College. Professor and Principal of the Fergusson College, Poona for twenty years. President of Poona Municipality 1902-1906. Member of the Bombay Legislative Council 1899-1901 and of the Imperial Legislative Council 1901-1915. Founder of the Servants of India Society 1905.

President of Congress 1905.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council ; Employment of Indians.

1890 Salt tax.

1891 Education grant.

1892 Report of the Public Service Commission.

1893 Legislative Council Reform.

1894 Simultaneous examination. Thanks to Lord Northbrook.

1895 Salt tax.

1896 Drain and poverty; Satisfaction at Wacha's delegation.

1904 Surpluses to be utilised in India.

1905 Presidential address.

1906 Boycott ; Self-Government
or Swaraj.

1908 Congratulates Hume and
Wedderburn.

1909 South Africa and Indians.

1910 Vote of thanks.

1912 Election of President.
Indians in colonies (spoke
thrice).

Sir Francis Younghusband
writes that on board ship
going out to India he did, in
fact, hear him (Gokhale)
express the idea that he would
like to have seen India rid of
the British. But "he was far
too wise and level-headed a
man to dwell over much on
such an idea". (*Dawn in India*,
1930, pp. 32-33).

H.R. Dec. 1905, pp. 485-
492.

220. Gokhale, Narayan Vishnu,
B. A., LL. B.

Lawyer, Bombay.

1895 Interpellation in Legis-
lature.

A. I. C. C. 1911, 1917.

221. Gokhale, Shankar Laxman
C.P.

1895 Nomination to Imperial
Legislature from C. P.

222. Gokuldass, N. M.

1914 Invites the Congress to
Bombay.

223. Goodridge, J. P.

Retired Sessions Judge,
Jabalpore (C. P.).

1896 Separation of Judiciary ;
Drain and poverty ; pro-
test against periodical
settlement of land revenue.

224. Goswami, Kishorilal

Vakil, High Court,
Calcutta. Enrolled 3rd. Sep-
tember, 1883. Serampore.

Delegate No. 234 in 1896.

The first to be appointed
to the Executive Council in
Bengal.

225. Goswami, Radha Charan

Shebait, Radharaman temple,
Brindaban (Mathura).

1888 Educational grant.

Gopal, Pandurang (Dr.) (50)

Poona.

1885 Foundation Member.

226. Gour, Hari Singh (1872-1950)

(Dr.), M. A., D. C. L.,

LL. D. Barrister-at-Law,
Nagpur.

In 1889 graduated from
Cambridge in Moral Science
and Law. Secretary of the
District Council at Raipur
1897-1905. First Vice-Chancel-
lor of the Delhi University.
Member of the Central
Legislature 1921-35.

Founder of the Saugar
University.

1901 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

1904 Education.

1910 Local Self-Government.

1911 Elementary education.

In some Year Books his
birth year is stated as 1868.
H. R. Jan. 1950, pp. 60-62.

227. Govind Buksh.

(Hindu) Vakil, Shikarpur,
Sind.

1887 Repeal of the Arms Act.

228. Govind, Raoji.

Hoshangabad.

1906 Land tax.

229. Grubb.

Secretary, Anglo-Indian
Temperance Association 1898.
1898 Omnibus resolution.

230. Guha, Anath Bandhu

B. L. (1875)

Pleader, Tangail, Mymen-
singh. Talookdar, Secretary,
Mymensingh Association
Editor, *Bharata-Mihir*, a paper
published from Mymensingh.

1901 Poverty (spoke in
Bengali).

1911 Thanks Government for
the creation of Bihar
and Orissa Province.

Guha, Rajanikanta (51)

Principal, Brajamohon
Institute, Barisal. Later,
Professor and Principal of City
College, Calcutta.

A great scholar in Greek.
Delegate 1906.

231. Gupta, Nagendranath.

(1862-1940) B. A. (1881)

Journalist and an eminent
Bengali litterateur. Educated in
General Assembly Institute,
Calcutta.

1886 Enquiry Commission.

Son of a Subordinate Judge
of Bihar, Nagendranath Gupta
was the renowned editor of
several newspapers e. g. the
Sind Times and the *Phoenix* of
Karachi, *Tribune* of Lahore
(1891), *Indian People* of
Allahabad (1905) and of the
Leader in 1909. He suffered
imprisonment in 1889 on the
charge of defamation of the
Superintendent of Jail. He
served the *Tribune* again as
editor from 1909 to 1912. In
1913 he became the editor of
the *Punjabee*, but soon after-
wards gave it up. He became
Private Secretary to Maharaja
Manindra Chandra Nandi of
Kassimbazar in 1913.

H.R. 1941 January, p. 392.

- 232. Gupta, Ramaswami**
Merchant, Secretary Tax Payers' Association, Guntur.
1896 Reduction of Salt tax.
- 233. Gupta, R. V.**
1914 Army Service.
Gupte, D. M. (52)
Lawyer. Secretary, District Congress Committee, Thana 1910-1911.
- 234. Gutikar, Venkata Rao.**
Belgaum.
1895 Extension of Jury trial.
- 235. Habibullah (later on Sir).**
Madras.
1898 Omnibus resolution.
- 236. Hadiwala, Shopur Shah.**
(Parsi) Merchant, Bombay.
1896 Reorganisation of Education Service.
- 237. Hafiz, Abdur Rahim.**
Pleader, Aligarh, Zamindar President, Aligarh Congress Committee 1910-1911.
1890 Permanent Settlement.
1892 Reform of Legislative Council.
1893 Omnibus resolution.
1894, 1895 Simultaneous examination.
1899 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive (spoke in Urdu).
1900 Military service.
1906 Self-Government or Swaraj
- Haji Shawkar, Abdul (53).**
Subjects Committee 1887.
- 238. Haji Suleiman.**
South Africa.
1902 Indians in South Africa.
- 239. Haji Sheikh Hussain.**
Bombay.
1899 Famine (spoke in Urdu).
- 240. Haji Sumar.**
South Africa.
1902 Indians in South Africa.
- 241. Hamid Ali Khan (b. 1859)**
Went to England in 1880.
Joined Lucknow Bar 1885.
In 1883 organised the National Indian Representative Society and became its Vice-President.
1887 Member, Rules Committee.
1889 Reform of Legislative Council.
1890 Permanent Settlement ; Thanks Bradlaugh and British Committee.
1893 Thanks the House of Commons for passing a resolution regarding Simultaneous examination. Refers to the advice tendered by the *Pioneer* to the Muslims to petition against the Resolution, but says good sense prevailed amongst them and they did not petition (Report, p. 75).

242. Haq, A. K. Fazlul b. 1873. Graduated with triple Hons. M. A. in Math. 1895. Government Officer 1906-1912. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1913-20, 1920-35. Lawyer, Calcutta. Chief Minister, Bengal, 1937-43. After 1947 he became the Advocate General of East Pakistan.

In 1918 he became the General Secretary of the Congress along with V. J. Patel and Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra.

1917 Press Act of 1910.

243. Haque, Mazharul (1866-1921)

Called to the Bar 10th June, 1891. Lawyer, Chapra, later of Patna. Vice-Chairman, Chapra Municipality. Secretary, Bihar Muslim League 1908. Chairman, Saran District Board for three years. President, Muslim League 1915. Gave up practice as a lawyer in 1920. 1910 Deprecates communal representation in Local Bodies.

1912 Chairman, Reception Committee; Election of President; condemns the Delhi outrage; Indians in colonies; Provincial autonomy.

1916 Self-Government for India.

244. Haldar, Bhagai

Bengal Depressed Class.

1917 Immediate implementation of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms (spoke in Bengali).

Surendranath Banerjee introduced him as a philanthropist who has opened a charitable dispensary. "He has come here to repudiate the attitude of a dozen Namasudras who are assisting the Anglo-Indian community in their fight against Home Rule."

245. Haridas, Hardeoram

Nanabhai

Landed Proprietor, Surat and Bombay.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

1890 Congress session in Bombay.

1902 I.C.S. men should not be appointed District Judge.

246. Haridas, Jamiatram

Nanabhai

Advocate, Bombay.

1890 Reduction of Salt duty.

1902 Thanks the British Committee.

Harkishen Lal—See **Lala Harkishen Lal**.

247. Hasan Imam.

b. 31st August, 1871—1933.

Went to England in 1889. Joined as Barrister-at-Law, Patna 26th August, 1892. Judge, Patna High Court 1912, retired 5th March, 1916. President of the Congress 1918. Nominated to the Bihar Legislative Council and became its Vice-President. He gave equal amount of donation to the Aligarh and Varanasi Universities.

1908 Repeal of Regulation III of 1818.

1909 Regulations under 1909 Act.

1910 Deprecates communal representation in Local Bodies.

1911 Invites Congress to Patna.

1917 Election of President.

He joined Civil Disobedience Movement 1930-32.

H. R. 1933 April, Pp. 172-175.

248. Hasan, Fazlul.
Aligarh.

1905 Representation of Indians in Parliament, India Council and Executive Councils.

249. Hasmut Hussain.

Nawab, Lucknow.

1899 Punjab Land Alienation Act (spoke in Urdu).

250. Hearsay, Andrew William
(Captain)

Retired Officer, Kheri (Dehradun).

1888 State regulated prostitution ; Military College; Volunteering ; Repeal of the Arms Act.

251. Hidayat Buksh.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

252. Horniman, B.G. (d. 1948).

Editor, *Bombay Chronicle*, One of the greatest friends of India. Suffered deportation.

1915 Imperial Conference ; Press Act.

1916 Press Act.

1917 Press Act of 1910.

H. R. Nov. 1948.

253. Howard, J. E.

Barrister-at-Law, Allahabad. President, Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association

1888 State regulated prostitution.

1888 Separation of Judiciary from Executive ; *Abkari* policy ; Industrial condition and technical education.

1896 Drain and poverty.

254. Hukumchand.

Pleader, Lahore.

1890 Expansion and reform of Legislative Council.

255. Hume, Allan Octavian, (1829-1912).

Retired I. C. S., Simla.

Hume, son of Joseph Hume, the Radical leader (1777-1855); entered Civil Service 1849; rendered meritorious services during the Mutiny and was awarded CB. He rose to be the Secretary in the Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India in 1870 and continued to hold these posts till 1879. He retired in 1882. Originator of the Congress and its Secretary from 1885 to 1906. Left India in 1892.

1885 Enquiry into the condition of India ; Reform of Legislative Council ;

Venue of the next Congress.

1886 Poverty of India.

1887 Rules for the Congress ; next Congress.

1891 Venue of next Congress

(Was unwilling to be the Secretary, because he would not be able to be present next year).

G. P. Pillai writes in 1899 : "A man of strong feeling and pronounced views, he is strong in his adjectives and even vehement in his denunciations. But beneath his vehemence you perceive the swell of his soul, his selfless humanity".

Ref : Wedderburn, W.—
Hume, A. O. *Hindustan Review*
August 1912, Pp. 188-191.

256. Hume, R. A. (Rev.), Doctor of Divinity.

Member, Bombay Legislative Council.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council ; *Abkari* policy.

1908 Satisfaction at Morley's Despatch regarding reforms.

- 257. Iyah, Adinarayan** (Rao Bahadur)
Madras.
1910 Change in Regulations of the Legislative Council.
1915 Election of President.
- 258. Iyengar, Chakravarti V. R.**
Pleader, Penukonda, Anantpur.
1887 Technical education ; Income tax.
Iyengar, Rama K. (54)
A. I. C. C. 1917.
Iyengar, Rangaswami A., B. L. (55).
Madras.
A. I. C. C. 1917.
- 259. Iyengar, Rangaswami K. V.**
(d. 1932)
Member, Imperial Legislature for over twenty years since the days of the Minto-Morley Reforms. He was connected with the Srirangam Municipality for several years. 1917 Deputation to England.
H. R. 1932 April-June, Pp. 133-34.
- 260. Iyengar, S. Srinivasa**
(1874-1941)
Lawyer, Madras. Fellow, Madras University 1912-16. President, Madras Social Reform Association. President of the Congress, Gauhati 1926.
1908 Delegate.
1912 A. I. C. C.
1914 Thanks the Chair.
H. R. 1941, Pp. 670-71.
- 261. Iyer, Annaswami.**
Pleader, Negapatam.
1887 Repeal of the Arms Act.
- 262. Iyer, Ekambra K.**
Pleader.
1909 Partition of Bengal.
- 263. Iyer, Govindaraghava L. A.**
(1863-1935).
Enrolled as Vakil in 1887 at Chittoor (N. Arcot).
Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1904, 1906, and 1911.
1903 Land Assessment.
1904 Economic situation.
1905 Expansion and reform of Legislature.
1906 Boycott; Swaraj.
1908 Morley's Despatch regarding Reforms welcomed.
1909 Election of President. Modification of Regulations made under the 1909 Act.
1911 Elementary education.

1913 Indians in South Africa.

1914 Loyalty to the throne.

1915 Self-Government.

1916 Election of President ;
Patna University Bill.

1917 Election of President.

Chintamani says : "Eloquent as a speaker, sound in judgment, wise in counsel, Mr. Govindaraghava Iyer was deeply religious and excessively charitable—charitable in judgment and charitable with his slender purse" (p. 87).

H. R. 1935 Feb.-March,
p. 623.

264. Iyer, Guruswamy K. R.

Vakil, Tinnevely. Member,
Legislative Council, Madras
1905. Member, District Board.

1905 Public Service question.

1914 Thanks to the members
of Deputation to England.

265. Iyer, K. N. Aiya.

1915 Press Act.

1916 Defence of India Act and
Deportation.

**266 Iyer, Kalyan Samudram
(Hon.)**

Tanjore.

1894 Land question.

**267. Iyer, Krishna A. R.
Tinnevely.**

1894 Judicial service.

1902 Indians in South Africa.

268. Iyer, Krishnaswami T. M.

1917 Press Act of 1910.

**269. Iyer, Krishnaswami V.
(d. 1911).**

Vakil, Calicut. Member,
Executive Council, Madras.

1890 Expansion and reform of
Legislative Council.

1898 Executive Council for
Bombay and Madras.

1903 Military expenditure ;
Partition of Bengal.

1904 Representation in the
House of Commons,
India Council and Legis-
lative Councils in India.

1905 Repressive measures in
Bengal ; Parliamentary
control over Indian
affairs.

1908 Vote of thanks.

Sir Murray Hammick said
at the memorial meeting held
at Madras in 1912 in honour
of V. Krishnaswami Iyer :
"I learnt to admire his genius,
his extraordinary quickness,
and above all his intense
anxiety to be just to all men
and to do what he thought best
for the welfare and advance-
ment of his country".

Sir John Atkinson said at
the same meeting : "He had
no administrative experience

when he joined the Government. As he himself said to me a day or two after the event he was only a learner. But what a learner ! It was astonishing how rapidly he mastered not only the methods of Secretariat procedure but the substance and intricacies of all the many complicated questions submitted to him. It was in consonance with his character that he should be rapid in making up his mind, tenacious of his opinion and forceful in supporting it". (Srinivasa Sastri's *Self-Government for India*, p. 32)

270. Iyer, Manjari Ram

1917 For the first time raises the question of Depressed classes.

Iyer, Mathu Krishna T. V.
B. L. (56)
A. I. C. C. 1917.

271. Iyer, Narayanaswami N.

Landholder, Tanjore.

1885 Foundation Member.

272. Iyer, Pattabhiram K.

Landholder, Kumbakonam.

1885 Foundation member.

273. Iyer, Raghava G.

Madras.

1902 Enquiry into villages.

274. Iyer, Rama

1917 Depressed classes.

275. Iyer, Ramakrishna M. R.

Madras.

1903 Thanks Lord Curzon for the Co-operative Credit Societies Bill.

276. Iyer, C. P. Ramaswami

(b. 12 Nov. 1879, d. 27th Sept., 1966).

Vakil, Madras (1910).
Later on Dewan, Travancore State. Secretary of the Congress 1917-18. Member, Executive Council, Madras 1924-26. Member, Viceroy's Executive Council 1931 and 1942. Dewan of Travancore 1936-1947. Vice-Chancellor of many Universities. He married the granddaughter of C. V. Ranganatha Shastri, the first Indian Judge, Madras.

1910 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

1911 Thanks for annulling the Partition of Bengal.

1912 Education.

1913 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive ;
Regrets retirement of Wacha and Khare as Secretaries of Congress.

1914 Arms Act.

1915 Executive Council for the U. P.

- 1916 Press Act; Need for carrying on propaganda work for Congress throughout the year.
- 1917 Demands immediate implementation of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms.
- 277. Iyer, N. K. Ramaswami**
North Arcot, Chittoor.
- 1901 Needs of Agriculture.
1904 Separation of Judiciary.
- 278. Iyer, C. S. Ranga**
1916 Propaganda work for the Congress to be carried throughout the year.
- Iyer, T. V. Sheshagiri (57)**
B. L.
A. I. C. C. 1910.
- 279. Iyer, P. S. Sivaswami**
(1864-1946).
Madras.
Vakil 1885; Advocate-General of Madras 1908-1912, Member, Executive Council, Madras 1912-17; Vice-Chancellor, Madras University 1916-18.
- 1895 Interpellation in Council.
1901 Appointment of Indian lawyers in the Judicial Committee of Privy Council.
H. R. Dec. 1946, p. 355.
- 280. Iyer, G. Subramania** (1855-1916) Passed the First Arts Exam. in 1873 and started life as a school teacher. In 1878 he appeared at the B. A. Examination as a private candidate and came out successful. Editor, *Hindu* (1878-1898) and *Swadeshamitram*. Municipal Commissioner, Madras. Married his widowed daughter in December 1889 in Bombay. In 1897 he went to England to give evidence before the Welby Commission.
- 1885 Enquiry into Indian administration; Covenanted service; Vote of thanks; Reform of Legislative Council.
- 1886 Felicitations to Victoria; Verdict of Jury to be final.
- 1888 Expenditure on education.
- 1889 Reform of Indian Legislature.
- 1893 Thanks to elector of Finnsbury; Invites next Congress to Madras.
- 1894 Indian finance enquiry; freedom of Press.
- 1896 Simultaneous examination; Protest against periodical settlement of land revenue.
- 1897, 1898 Frontier policy.
- 1898 Indian currency.

1900 Enquiry into economic condition; Employment of Indians.

1901 Poverty of India; famine.

1902 Poverty of India; Currency legislation; Tata Research Institute.

1903 Employment of Indians; Land assessment; University Bill.

1904 Indians in public service; Surpluses to be utilised for India.

1905 Election of President; Indian Finance.

1906 Thanks Gokhale for delegation.

C. Y. Chintamani writes :

"Mr. Gokhale told me one day that there was no other editor in India who had the same masterly grip of public questions as Mr. Subramania Iyer" (p. 49).

281. Iyer, K. Subramania

Lecturer, Pachiappa College, Madras.

1887 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

Iyer, P. Subramania (58)
Madura.

1885 Foundation Member.

282. Iyer, S. Subramania (b. 1842)

Lawyer, Madras. Judge, Madras High Court (1895-1907).
Editor, *Madras Standard*

(1885). Municipal Commissioner, Madura (1870) and Vice-President (1884). Member, Madras Legislative Council (1884-1888). Honorary President, Home Rule League 1916.

1885 Reform of Legislative Council; annexation of Burma; next meeting in Calcutta.

1886 Poverty in India; invites Congress to Madras.

1887 Congress Constitution; election of President.

1889 Permanent Settlement.

283. Iyer, P. R. Sundar Madras.

1898 Condemns Regulation for Deportation.

1903 Land Assessment.

1906 Indians in colonies.

1908 Repeal of Acts of 1908.

284. Iyer, K. Sundarraman (1854-1938)

Professor in Government College, Kumbakonam.

1885 Not a delegate, but spoke on the enquiry into the condition of India; annexation of Burma.

H. R. April-May, 1938, p. 619.

285. Iyer, S. A. Swaminathan

Pleader, Tanjore.

1885 Customs Duty; Annexation of Burma.

- 1886 Poverty ; Jury trial (spoke twice).
1894 Land question.
- 286 Iyer, T. Venkat Suba Madras.**
1895 Extension of Jury system.
1898 Sedition Law.
- 287(a) Iyer, K. V. Viswanadhan Vakil, Madras.**
1888 Income tax.
1890 Omnibus resolution.
Iyer, M. Viswanath (59)
Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Berhampore (Ganjam).
1885 Foundation Member.
- 287(b) Jagat Narain Pandit (1864-)**
Pleader, Chief Court of Oudh, Chairman, Lucknow Municipality, Chairman, Reception Committee of the 31st Session of the Congress in 1916. He rose to be the Minister of Local Self-Government and Public Health, U. P. 1921-23.
1916 Welcome Address.
- 288. Jaisi Ram (d. 1900)**
Pleader, Lahore; Landholder and Malgujar, Jullundhar. Secretary, Reception Committee 1893.
1888 Police administration.
1890 Permanent Settlement.
- 1893 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.
1894 Jury trial; High Court from the Punjab.
1895 Draft rules for the Congress.
1897 Contribution to the cost of Frontier War.
1898 Election of President.
- 289. Jalil, Abdul**
Pleader and Merchant, Kanpur.
1888 Omnibus resolution; Jury trial.
- Jamunadas (60)**
Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Agra. Editor, *Naseem*.
1885 Foundation Member.
- 290. Javeri, Mathuradas Ramchand, B. A.**
Pleader; Zamindar; Member, District Board and Municipality, Hyderabad (Sind).
1905 Indian Finance.
A. I. C. C. 1911.
- 291. Jathar, S. B.**
Pooha.
1895 Vote of thanks.
- 292. Jayakar, R. Mukund, M. A.,**
LL. B. (1873-1959)
Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.
Member of the Bombay Legislative Council 1923-25;

of the Indian Legislative Assembly 1926-30. Judge of the Federal Court of India 1937-39. Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council 1939-41 ; Vice-Chancellor, Poona University 1948-56.

1906 Delegate.

1915 Delegate.

Implementation of Congress-League scheme of Reforms.

293. Jayaram, Sadashiva

Professor, Hislop College, Nagpur.

1896 Elected Member to Imperial Legislature from C. P.

Jayaswal, Kashi Prasad (61)
(1881-1937)

Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta, later on, Patna. Called to Bar in 1909.

1911 Delegate.

His appointment as Lecturer, Law College was not approved by Government, because of his political connections.

H. R. 1937, p. 132.

294. Jethmal, Dayaram

Pleader, Karachi.

The Sind Arts College founded in 1887 at Karachi was called Dayaram Jeth-

mal College after his name. Died in 1887.

1885 Enquiry into the condition of India; reform of the Legislative Council; Military expenditure; Customs Duty.

295. Jhamatmal, Gopaldas

1913 Election of President; Reform of the India Council.

296. Jhamurai, Krishnadas

1913 Press Act.

297. Jhind Ram

Pleader, Lahore. Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee, Dera Ismail Khan.

1893 Separation of Judiciary.

298. Jinnah, Muhammad Ali

(1876-1948).

Enrolled in Bombay High Court 1906. For some time Private Secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906. Member, Imperial Legislative Council 1910. President of the Muslim League 1916, 1920 and 1934-1948. Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947-48.

1906 Validity of Wakf-i-ala-au-lad; Self-Government for India.

He was against reserving seats for minority community. He said, "I understand that by backward class is meant the Mahomedan community. If the Mahomedan community is meant by it, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the Mahomedan community should be treated in the same way as the Hindu community. The foundation upon which the Indian National Congress is based, is *that we are all equal, that there should be no reservation for any class or any community* and my whole object is that the reservation should be deleted" (R.I.N.C. 1906.)

1908 Expresses satisfaction with the Despatch of Morley regarding Reforms.

1910 Deprecates communal representation in Local Bodies.

Speaking in the Legislative Assembly, he said, "Sir, I might say that I learnt my first lesson in politics at the feet of Dadabhai Naoroji and Surendra Nath Banerjee. I was associated with them as a follower, and I looked up to them as my leaders. They were the leaders for whom the Mussalmans had the greatest

respect; and they commanded their confidence as much as any Muslim leader".

1913 Reform of the India Council (London).

1914 One of the Congress Delegates to England.

1917 Self - Government — the Congress-League scheme of reforms should be introduced immediately.

In 1918 Sarojini Naidu wrote of him: "Somewhat formal and fastidious, and a little aloof and imperious of manner, the calm hauteur of his accustomed reserve but masks for those who knew him, a naive and eager humanity, an intuition quick and tender as a woman's, a humour gay and winning as a child's—pre-eminently rational and practical, discreet and dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life the obvious sanity and serenity of his worldly wisdom effectually disguise a shy and splendid idealism which is of the very essence of the man." (*Mohamed Ali Jinnah, an Ambassador of Unity.*

Ganesh & Co., Madras 1918,
p. 2.)

He left the Congress on
Sept. 30, 1921.

H. R. Aug. 1944, article
by Yusuf Meherally pp. 57-60.

H. R. Oct. 1948, pp. 296-
300.

Jinarajadas, C. M. A.
(Cantab). (62)

Lecturer, Adyar.
1915 Delegate.

Jiwaram, Manchha Shankar
(63)

Lawyer, Surat.
1885 Foundation Member.

299. Jodiah

Ganjam.
1905 Police reform.

300. Jog, Prahlad Narayan

Pleader, Money-lender,
Vice-Chairman, Municipality,
Amraoti, Berar.
1897 Method of legislation for
Berar to be improved.

301. Jogiah, V. V.

Madras.
1908 New Military charges.
1911 Simultaneous examina-
tion.

Joglekar, A. Ramchandra(64)
Editor, *Dharwar Vrit* (W.),
Dharwar.

1887 Member, Rules Com-
mittee.

Joshi, G. V. (Rao Bahadur)
(65)

Poona.

After serving as Head-
master of Government High
School, joined Tilak's party.
Gokhale had great respect for
him.

302. Joshi, Jwala Dutt

Vakil, Kumaon.

1886 Reform of Legislative
Council.

1887 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

303. Joshi, Kesava Vinayak

Headmaster, Neill City
High School, Nagpur.

1892 Grant for higher educa-
tion.

1893 Reformed and enlarged
Legislative Council;
Permanent Settlement.

1897 Royal Commission on
Indian expenditure.

Joshi, L. K. (66)

Secretary, District Cong-
ress Committee, Satara 1910-
1911.

304. Joshi, Moropant Visvanath,

B. A., LL. B. (b. 1861).

Pleader, Amraoti. Secre-
tary, Berar Sarvajanic Sabha,
1886-1898.

Member, Executive Coun-
cil, C. P. & Berar, 1921-23.

1891 Salt tax and Income tax.
 1894 Simultaneous examination.
 1895 Law touts.
 1896 Drain and poverty.
 1897 Election of President.
 1898 Constitution for Congress.
 1915 Military and naval training and volunteering.
 A. I. C. C. 1901.

305. Joshi, M. V.

Banaras.

1905 Thanks to Indian Delegates to England.

306. Joshi, V. G.

Nagpur.

1904 Police reform.

307. Joshi, V. R.

Bombay.

1906 Swadeshi.

Jwala Prasad (67)

Pleader, Lucknow.

1885 Foundation Member.

308. Kadir Buksh (Sheikh)

Merchant, Fyzabad.

1886 Legislative Council.

1887 Technical education.

Kaikobad, . Manchharshao

Pattabhi. (68)

Secretary, Praja Hita-
 bardhak Sabha, Surat.

1885 Foundation Member.

Kaji Tajjammul Husain (69)
 Vakil, Gorakhpur.

Secretary, District Congress Committee, Gorakhpur
 1910-1911.

309. Kakumal.

Pleader. Journalist. Zamin-
 dar. Municipal Commissioner,
 Fyzabad. Chairman, Municipality 1890.

1886 Expansion of Council.

1890 Congress session in
 England.

310. Kale, Vaman Govind (1876-1946)

Professor, Fergusson
 College, Poona. Famous
 Economist.

1909 High prices and Enquiry
 Commission.

1914 Protection of Indian
 industries.

1915 Fiscal freedom.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

H. R. Feb. 1946, p. 124 ;
 March 1946, pp. 179-81.

311. Kale, Visvanath Kashinath

Pleader. Secretary, City
 Municipality, Amraoti.

1897 Exercise of arbitrary
 power by Government
 under Regulation III of
 1818 (spoke in Marathi).

312. Kamruddin Nazir-ud-din
Bombay.

1899 Calcutta Municipal Act
(spoke in Urdu).

313. Kane, Govind Narayan

(Christian) Pleader,
Amraoti.

1897 Law of Sedition.

314. Kane, Rajpal

1909 Regulations under 1909
Act should be changed.

1911 Simultaneous Examination.

Kanga, Dinshaw Pestonji (70)

Solicitor, Bombay.

1885 Foundation Member.

315. Kar, Nargunti

Belgaum.

1899 Police Reform.

Kar, R. G. (71)

Famous physician of
Calcutta and founder of the
Carmichael Medical College,
Calcutta, which is now known as
the R.G. Kar Medical College.

1901 Delegate no. 62

A. I. C. C.

316. Karandikar, Raghunath
Pandurang (1857-1935)

Gave up Munsiffship and be-
came Vakil, Satara. Secretary,
Sarvajanik Sabha, Satara 1887.

Professor, Law College, Poona.
Member, Bombay Legislative
Council, 1911; Council of State
1925. In 1908 he was selected a
delegate by the Bombay Presi-
dency Association to represent
the case of India in England.
He again accompanied Tilak
to England in 1918.

1886 Sessions trial.

1887 Expansion of Legislative
Council.

1888 Resolutions to be sent to
Viceroy.

1890 Permanent Settlement.

1891, 1892 Forest laws.

1893 Separation of Judiciary
from Executive; Stoppage
of Silver coinage depre-
cated.

1894 Forest management.

1895 Agricultural indebtedness.

1896 Extension of Jury trial.

1900 Military Service.

1903 Thanks for Cooperative
Societies Bill.

1904 Education.

1905 Further reform of Legis-
lature.

1911 Elementary education;
Police Administration
reform.

H. R. 1935, pp. 768-69.

317. Karaka, Sorabji

Ahmedabad.

1902 Currency legislation.

318. Kasem, Abdul

Pleader, Burdwan. Municipal Commissioner. President, Mahommedan Association.

1896 Vote of thanks.

1901, 1902, 1903 Employment of Indians.

1904 Indians in Public Services.

1905 Partition of Bengal.

1906 Swaraj ; Validity of Wakf-i-ala-aulad.

1909 Executive Council for U. P. etc.

A. I. C. C. 1911.

Katju, Kailasnath, M. A., M.L., LL.D. (Alld.) (72) b. 1887.

Advocate. Minister, U.P.

1937-39. Governor of Orissa

1947-48. Governor of W. Bengal

1948-51. Home and Defence Minister, India 1951-56.

1915 Delegate.

H. R. Aug. 1948, p. 138.

319. Katre, Lakshman Dhundev

Pleader, Ratnagiri.

1888 Salt Tax.

320. Kaul, Ratan Nath

Fyzabad.

1899 Local option (spoke in Urdu).

321. Kavya Visharad, Kaliprasanna (1861-1907).

Editor, *Hitavadi* for twelve years. Famous Bengali litterateur, Calcutta.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

1891 Appreciation of Bradlaugh.

1892 Petition to Parliament regarding results of the Public Service Commission.

1893 Omnibus resolution.

1895 Thanks the British Committee.

1897 Protest against investing Magistrates with discretionary powers.

1898 Law of sedition.

1900, 1901, 1902 Separation of Judiciary.

1905 Reform in Police administration.

1906 Constitution for Congress.

322. Keay, Seymour

Member, Parliament.

1894 Poverty of India; Simultaneous examination.

1895 Freedom of Press.

323. Kedarnath, B. A., B. L.

Pleader, Gaya.

1912 Indians in colonies.

324. Kelkar, Harivarman

Pleader, Wardha. Municipal Commissioner.

1896 Separation of Judiciary.

325. Kelkar, Narasimha Chintaman (1872-1947).

A brilliant litterateur; wrote sex dramas and one historical treatise in

Marathi. Pleader. Editor, *Mahratta*. A trusted lieutenant of Tilak. He joined Tilak as editor of the *Mahratta* in 1896 and continued at this post till 1918. Municipal Councillor, Poona 1898-1924 and Chairman, Poona City Municipality 1918 and 1922-24.

1897 Additional Councillor for the Executive Committee.

1898 Secret Press Committee.

1902 Army appointments.

H. R. 1932, July-Sept.
pp. 87-88.

H.R. 1947 Dec. pp. 641-42.

- 326. Kennedy, Pringle, M. A.** (1878, Calcutta University), Premchand Roychand Scholar (1879, Cal. Univ.).

Pleader, Muzaffarpur. Editor, *Tirhoot Courier*. His wife and daughter were innocent victims of the Bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur in 1908.

1888 Police Administration ; Military College ; Volunteering and repeal of Arms Act.

"I look upon a national army as a necessity." (Report, p. 135); but he was against the repeal of the Arms Act.

1890 Reduction of Salt duty.

1891 Distress in India and reforms needed.

327. Khade.

C. P.

1917 Against the vesting of additional powers in the Executive and against internment.

- 328. Khaitan, Debi Prasad** (b. 14th Aug. 1888).

Graduated in 1906, enrolled as Solicitor, Calcutta High Court, 1911.

1917 Press Act of 1910.

329. Khajeh Abdul Aleem.

1886 Reform of Legislative Council; Sessions trial.

330. Khwaja, M.

Delhi.

1917 Against the punishment of persons without trial.

331. Khan Ayub (Mir).

1913 Indians in Australia ; Vote of thanks.

332. Khan, Fayaz Ali (Sheikh).

Landowner and Editor, Lucknow.

1910 Protests against regulations made under the Reforms Act of 1909.

333. Khan, Ghulam Ahmad

Landholder, Pinpalgaon Raja, Taluk Balapur (Berar).

1897 Improvements in the method of legislation for Berar.

1906 Swadeshi (spoke in Urdu).

334. Khan, Reza Ali (Nawab Bahadur)

Lucknow.

1886 Presidential election (in Urdu)

(Speech translated by Hamid Ali Khan)

335. Khan, Sadiq Ali (Nawab)

Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.

1910 Regulations under 1909 Act.

A. I. C. C. 1911, 1917.

Khan, Sarfaraz Hussain (Bahadur) (73)

Zamindar, Patna City.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

336. Khan, Yusuf Hussein.

1916 Volunteering and commission in the army.

337. Khaparde, Ganesh Srikrishna

(1854-1938) B. A. 1877, LL. B. 1884. He was the Extra Assistant Commissioner in Berar from 1885 to 1889.

Pleader, Amraoti. Chairman, District Board and of the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha. Chairman, Reception Committee of the Congress in 1897. Fellow, Allahabad University. Member, Viceroy's Legislative Council.

1889 Public Service.

1890, 1892-93 Omnibus resolution.

1893 Fixity of tenure on land.

1897 Thanks to Reception Committee.

1898 Local Self-Government.

1905 Further expansion and reform of Legislative Council; Repressive measures in Bengal.

1916 Self-Government for India.

A. I. C. C. 1901.

Ref. H. R. July 1938, p. 71

338. Khare, Daji Abaji, B. A.,

LL. B. (d. 1916).

Vakil, Bombay. Joint Secretary of Congress 1909-1913. Member, Bombay Legislature. Fellow and Syndic, Bombay University, 1906-1908. Though a Moderate he was one of the closest friends of Tilak. He helped forward the Widow remarriage movement.

- 1886 Employment of Indians ; Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.
- 1887 Constitution of the Congress ; Income tax ; repeal of the Arms Act.
- 1890 Reform of the Legislative Council.
- 1891 Session of the Congress in London.
- 1892 Distress of the people and reduction of the cost of administration.
- 1893 Fixity of tenure on land.
- 1901 Currency problem.
- 1905 Repressive measures in Bengal; Thanks to Indian Delegation to England.
- 1906 Constitution for Congress.
- 1911 Demands repeal of Seditious Meetings Act, Press Act etc., Abolition of counterveiling Excise Duty.
- 1912 Provincial Autonomy.
- 1913 Welcomes Muslim League decision for demanding right of Self-Government for India.
- 339. Khare, Damodar Nilakantha**
Pleader, Wardha.
1897 Land Revenue Settlement.
- 340. Khare, Kashinath Trimbak**
Merchant, Bombay.
1887 Technical education.
- 341. Khare, Vaman Sakharam**
B. A., LL. B.
Pleader, Nasik. Vice-President, Local Board and Municipality.
1905 Quarantine.
1906 Education.
- 342. Khastgir, Annada Charan**
Medical Practitioner,
1886 Simultaneous examination.
- 343. Khemchand, Tahliram**
Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Karachi.
1888 Separation of Judiciary.
1893 Reformed and enlarged Legislative Council.
A. I. C. C. 1901.
Nagendranath Gupta says that he himself, Tahliram Khemchand and Harchandrai Vishundas were the three youngest members of the Municipality and they did not identify themselves with any faction.
- 344. Khemchand Thakurdas.**
1913 Indians in South Africa.
- 345. Khemsing Hiranand.**
1913 Permanent Settlement.
1915 Land Settlement.
Khoja Attikulla (74)
Nawab family, Dacca.
1906 Delegate.

346. Khote, Sundernath
Bombay.

1895 Simultaneous examination.

347. Kidwai, Mushir Hasan

Johannesburg British
Indian Association.

1908 Indians in South Africa.
A.I.C.C. 1911.

Kirloskar, Ganesh Ramchandra (75).

Vakil, Bombay.

1885 Foundation Member.

Kolhatkar, Vaman Rao (Rao Bahadur) (76).

Retired Judge, C. P.

A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

348. Krishna, Bhalchandra (Sir)
(b. 1852.)

Joined the Grant Medical College in 1869 and passed the L. M. examination in 1873. Medical Practitioner, Bombay. Served for sometime as the Principal of the Vernacular College of Science, started by Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao, the Dewan of Baroda. Began private practice in Bombay in 1885. Member, Bombay Legislative Council (1902) and Bombay Corporation. Fellow, Bombay University 1887. Dean of the Faculty of Medicine 1904.

1893 Civil Medical Service.

1904 Salary of Secretary of State.

1905 Excise Duty.

1906 Condolence for Samuel Smith.

1908 Election of President.

1910 Medical Service.

A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

349. Krishnamachariar
Madras.

1902 Police Commission and Indians.

350. Kichlu, Sarfuddin
Punjab.

1917 Press Act of 1910 (spoke in Urdu).

351. Kunzru, Hirdaya Nath

B.A., B. Sc. (b. 1887).

(Kashmiri Brahman) Son of Pandit Ayodhyanath, Zamin-dar, Agra. Joined Servants of India Society in 1909. Author of *Services in India*. Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee in U. P. in 1915.

1910 Elementary education.

1912 Satisfaction at Public Service Commission.

1914 Reciprocity between colonies and India.

1916 Self-Government for India,

- 352. Kushari, Chandi Kishore**
Calcutta, representative
Indian Association.
1886 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.
- 353. Lahiri, B. K.**
Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta.
Krishnagar.
1916 Arms Act.
- 354. Lakshman Das, B.**
Medical Practitioner,
Ajmer.
Proprietor, *Rajputana
Malwa Times* and *Rajputana
Patrika*.
1895 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.
1896 Drain and poverty.
- 355. Lal, Awadh Behari**
Service-holder and poet.
Lucknow.
1892 Omnibus resolution
(spoke in Urdu).
1899 Teachers should not be
prohibited from attending
political meetings.
- 356. Lal, Chail Behari, B.A.**
Pleader, Sitapur. Muni-
cipal Commissioner. Member,
District Board.
1900 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.
1912 Executive Council for the
U. P. and the Punjab.
- Lal, Jai Prakash (Rai Baha-
dur) (77).**
Manager, Dumraon Raj.
Delegate No. 219, 1886.
- Lal, Nand Kishore, M. A.,
B. L. (78)** (1866-1918), Gaya.
Delegate No. 224, 1886.
A. I. C. C. 1910-1911,
1916-1917.
- 357. Lal, Parameshwar** (1874-
1919), Barrister-at-Law, Gaya.
1908 Education.
1909 Partition; Dissatisfaction
in N. W. F. Province.
1911 Thanks Government for
creating the Province of
Bihar and Orissa.
- 358. Lal, Rash Behari**
(Arya Samajist) Barrister-
at-Law, Allahabad.
1899 Technical education.
- 359. Lala Bahadurchand.**
Lahore.
1915 Military and naval train-
ing and volunteering.
- 360. Lala Beni Prasad.**
Lahore.
1900 Excise Policy.
- 361. Lala Bhana Ram.**
Pleader, Lahore.
1909 Alienation of Land Law.
Lala Dhanpat Rai (79)
A. I. C. C. 1910-1911

362. Lala Dharam Das Suri.
Pleader, Lahore, Allahabad (1893).

1890 Omnibus resolution.
A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

363. Lala Dwarka Das.
Pleader, Ambala.

1893 High Court in the Punjab.
1900 Election to Senate suspended.

364. Lala Gobardhan Das.
Punjab.

1911 Abolition of counter-veiling Excise Duties.

365. Lala Hamsaraj.
Sawhuy. Rawalpindi.

1899 Election of President.

366. Lala Har Bhagwandas.
Pleader, Jhelum.

1889 Arms Act.

1893 Legislative Council for Punjab.

1900 Punjab as a Regulated Province.

367. Lala Harkishan Das.

1896 Simultaneous examination.

368. Lala Harkishen Lal (1864-1937) B. A. (Cantab.),
Bar-at-Law.

(Hindu, Arora caste).

Went to Cambridge as a State Scholar. Returned in 1890, joined the Bar on the

18th April, 1892. Member, Legislative Council, Punjab 1908-1912. Member, A.I.C.C. 1901—1911. Secretary, Punjab National Bank 1895. Started Bharat Insurance Company 1896. Director, Hindu Mutual Fund and Punjab Spinning Company. Deported in April, 1919 and tried for conspiracy. The success of the Lahore sessions of the Congress in 1893 and 1900 owed much to him. He was the President of the Reception Committee in 1909, Minister, Punjab Govt. 1921. He was sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture of property in 1919.

1901 Economic question.

1908 Satisfaction at Morley's Despatch regarding Reforms.

1909 Chairman, Reception Committee.

1910, 1912 Proposed election of the President.

1912 Executive Council for the U. P. and the Punjab.

1917 Election of President.

H. R. March 1937, p. 642.

369. Lala Hukumchand.

Pleader, Lahore. Represented Indian Association.

1886 Poverty in India.

1909 Executive Council in the
U. P.
A.I.C.C. 1912.

370. Lala Kanhaiya Lal.
Pleader, Lahore.

1886 Jury trial ; expansion of
the Council of Secretary
of State ; reform of Legis-
lative Council.

1892 Legislative Council for
the Punjab ; Invites next
Congress to Lahore.

1893 Forced Labour.

1898 The Punjab Land Ali-
enation Act.

371. Lala Kunjabehari Lal.
Editor, *Churpooz*. Mora-
dabad.

1888 Reform of Legislative
Council.

372. Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928).

Pleader, Hissar and later
on of Lahore. Author.

At the age of fourteen,
met Swami Dayananda and
became his follower. Great
Nationalist leader. Stayed in
the U.S.A., 1911-1919.

1888 Invited the Congress, but
not accepted.

1888, 1889 Reform of Legisla-
ture.

1893 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

1900 Education and Industrial
condition (spoke in Urdu).

1905 Repressive measures in
Bengal.

1906 Swadeshi; Education.

1912 Delhi outrage condemned;
Indians in colonies, espe-
cially in South Africa.

1913 Indians in South Africa.

1914 On deputation to London.

President of the special
session of the Congress Septem-
ber, 1920.

Lala Lajpat Rai was one
of the four delegates from
Hissar to the Allahabad Con-
gress in 1888. The Special
Branch of the Thagi and Dacoi-
ty Department wrote on Oct.
6, 1888 that Lajpat Rai visited
Bhiwani and obtained the
signatures of some subordi-
nates and railway employees
to a petition, bringing forward
the claims of Natives to the
highest appointments in the
public service. "The document
has also been signed by the
Extra Assistant Commissioner,
Tehsildar and leading Babus of
Hissar (and) will be placed
before the next National Cong-
ress meeting." (Lajpat Rai—
Autobiographical Writings
p. 44).

Nevinson writes that he
attended a meeting held on the
Beach, Madras, where a Sann-
yasi, who had once been a

Barrister, a Councillor and a leader of public life said that he had come to the meeting only to say "that in his wanderings he had met with Lajpat Rai, and had found in him a saintly human soul, simple-hearted, austere, and regardless of possessions." (*The New Spirit of India*, p. 133.)

Lala Munshi Ram (80)
(Famous Swami Shradhanand who took Sannyasa in 1917) (1856-1926).

Pleader. Editor, *Sat Dharma Pracharak*. President, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Jullundhar.

Delegate at the Lucknow Congress 1899.

373. Lala Nanakchand.

Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
1915 High Court for the Punjab.
1916 Defence of India Act and Deportation.

374. Lala Ramchand.

1909 Alienation of Land Law.

375. Lala Sangam Lal.

Pleader, Lahore.
1909 Alienation of Land Law.

376. Lala Thakurdas.

Writer, Ludhiana.
1893 Legislative Council for the Punjab (spoke in Urdu).

377. Lee, S. G.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

378. Laimya

Professor.

1908 High Prices of Food-stuff.

379. Limaye, Ramchandra Keshav.
Pleader, Poona.

1885 Foundation Member.
1892 Trial by Jury.

380. Lubhaya, Bakshi Ram
Punjab.

1900 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive (spoke in Urdu).

381. Madanjit, V.

Barrister-at-Law, Burma (1912).

An associate of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. Proprietor, *Indian Opinion*, Natal.

1904 Indian emigrants to British colonies.

1906 Indians in colonies.

1912 Condition of Indians in the colonies.

Madhav Lal—See Munshi Madholal

382. Madhav Rao, T. (Raja, Sir).
(1828-1891). Took the Proficient's Degree from the Madras University in 1846.

Great statesman and Dewan of Indore 1873-74, Travancore 1858-1872, Baroda 1875-1882. Chairman, Reception Committee of the Congress, 1887.

His son, T. Ananda Rao was also the Dewan of Mysore.

383. Mahajani, R. V.

Akola.

1904 Economic situation (spoke in Marathi).

1908 Swadeshi.

Muhammad Ali (1878-1931)

Studied at M. A. O. College, Aligarh. Competed unsuccessfully at I. C. S. Editor, *Comrade*, 1907.

President, 1923 Cocanada

384. Mahmood Ali Khan (Nawab)

Rais, Rampore. Uncle of the ruling Chief.

1888 Resolutions of the Congress to be sent to the Viceroy.

385. Mahammad Badi-ul-Alam

Zamindar, Chittagong. Calcutta.

1896 Drain and Poverty.

386. Mahommad Hafiz.

1888 State regulated Prostitution for army.

387. Md. Hedaiyat Rasul.

Wasikadar, Lucknow.

1888 Police Administration; Presence of Mahomedans in large number in the Congress.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council ; Arms Act.

388. Mohammad Ismail (Syed)

Zamindar, Patna.

1912 Condemns the Delhi outrage.

389. Md. Mahbub Alum.

Editor, *Paisa Akhbar*, Gujranwala.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council ; condemns anti-Congressite Muslims.

390. Mahomed, Ruknud-din Jadoo

Sheristadar, Delhi.

1890 Thanks Bradlaugh and British Committee.

391. Md. Sakhaut Kasim.

1889 Legislative Council ; Permanent Settlement.

Mahmud, Syed (Dr.) (81 a)

Barrister-at-Law, Patna. A.I.C.C. 1916.

Mahendra Pratap (81 b).

Raja of Hathras—the famous revolutionary who was selected to be the President of the Provisional Government set-up at Kabul in 1915.

Delegate 1906.

Mahesh Narayan (82) (1859-1907).

Zamindar, Bhagalpur, Editor, *Behar Times* 1894, which was amalgamated with the *Biharee* in 1907. Hasan Imam calls him the 'father of public opinion in Bihar'. Delegate 1916.

Maltra, Akshoy Kumar (1861-1930) (83)

Pleader, Rajshahi. An eminent historian. Delegate 1899, 1910 (No. 116).

392. Maitra, Ambika Charan

Pleader, Kushtia (Nadia). Municipal Commissioner. 1893 Poverty of India.

393. Maitra, C. L.

Kanpur.
1900 Excise policy.

394. Maitra, Heramba Chandra

(1857-1938) M. A. (I. 1880). Professor, and later on Principal, City College, Calcutta 1911. A prominent Brahmo leader.

Delegate 1886.

1891 Education grant should not be diminished.

1892 Grant for higher education.

1895 Education.

1905 Education.

A. I. C. C. 1911, 1917.

Ref. H.R. Feb. 1938, p. 484.

395. Majid, Abdul

1917 Demands release of the Ali Brothers (spoke in Urdu).

396. Majithia, Sardar Dayal Singh (d. 1898).

Jagirdar, Lahore; President, Indian Association, Lahore; Founder of *Tribune*.

Son of Sardar Lena Singh Majithia, Commander-in-Chief of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army. Lena Singh retired to Banaras and died there. Dayal Singh went to Europe while young and stayed for some time in England and France. While in Europe he cut off his long hair and never wore it long again. He had great sympathy with the Brahmo Samaj movement. Nagendra Gupta writes that Sardar Dayal Singh was never seen at Government House or any official Darbar (p. 146).

Surendranath Banerjee says of him : "He was one of the truest and noblest men whom I have ever come across. It was perhaps difficult to know him and to get to the bottom of his heart, for there was a certain air of aristocratic reserve about him, which hid from public view the pure gold that formed the stuff of his nature."

397. Majumdar, Ambika Charan
(1851-1922)

Graduate 1879, Lawyer,
1877. President of the Congress 1916.

1886 Poverty of India;
Simultaneous examination;
Verdict of Jury to be final.

1887 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

1892, 1893 Separation of
Judiciary.

1894 Jury trial.

1895 Exchange Compensation
allowance.

1897 Law of Sedition.

1899, 1901, 1902, 1905 Separation
of Judiciary from
Executive.

1904, 1908, 1910 Partition of
Bengal,

1906 Boycott.

1911 Thanks for annulling
Partition.

1912 Election of President;
Swadeshi movement.

Majumdar, Bijoychandra (84)
(Brahmo) Pleader, Calcutta.

An eminent litterateur in
Bengali and Oriya. Editor,
Bangavani (M).

1901 Delegate No. 20.

398. Majumdar, Jadunath (b. 1895)
M. A. (1882).

Talookdar, Jessore (Bengal). Advocate, Calcutta High Court. Began his career as Professor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta; became Editor of *Tribune*. Principal of the Kathmandu College, Nepal for some time.

1888 Reform of Legislative
Council; Military training
and repeal of the Arms
Act.

1901 Famine.

1917 Military training to Indians—Cadet Corps.

399. Malaviya, Madan Mohan
(1861-1946).

Graduated in 1884. Teacher, Government School, Allahabad. Editor, the *Indian Union* 1885-87 and the *Hindusthan*, 1887-89. Enrolled as Lawyer, Allahabad, 11th January, 1893. Founded Hindu University of which he was Vice-Chancellor 1919-1940. President of the Congress 1909. Member, U. P. Legislative Council 1902-1912, of the Supreme Legislative Council 1912-1918. He resigned in protest against the Rowlatt Act. 1886, 1887 Reform of Legislative Council.

- 1888 Income tax.
- 1889 Changes in rules and practice of House of Commons regarding Indian Budget.
- 1890 Reform of Legislative Council.
- 1891 , 1892 Distress of people and reforms needed.
- 1893 Poverty of India ; Grant for British Committee.
- 1894 Reform of Legislative Council.
- 1896 Provincial contracts ; Drain and Poverty.
- 1897 Election of President ; Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure.
- 1899 Famine.
- 1900 Permanent Settlement.
- 1901 British Committee and circulation of "India".
- 1902 Tata Research Institute.
- 1903 Election of President ; University Bill.
- 1904 Election of President ; Representation of Indians in the House of Commons, India Council and Indian Legislature.
- 1905 Repressive measures in Bengal. Vote of thanks to President.
- 1906 Boycott; Swadeshi; Constitution for Congress.
- 1908 Morley Despatch regarding reforms hailed as satisfactory.
- 1909 Presidential address.

- 1910 Election of President.
- 1912 Election of President ; Condemns Delhi outrage; Indians in colonies.
- 1915 Election of President ; Self-Government ; Venue of next Congress.
- 1916 Vote of thanks.
- 1917 Immediate implementation of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms.

In 1917 he was asked by some in the audience to speak in Hindi but he said : "Much as I should like to address you in my own language, I feel it would not be right to disregard the request that comes from a large number of those who come from provinces where unfortunately to our regret, the Hindi or the Urdu language has not been sufficiently cultivated. I hope that during the years to come our friends in Madras as well as in other parts of the country, where Hindi is not sufficiently known, will find time to study a language which is understood in India by nearly three-fourths of the masses of the people".

H.R. Dec.1946, pp. 353-55.

400. Malaviya, Ramakanta Vakil, Allahabad.

- 1910 Education.
- 1914 Indians in South Africa.

- 401. Malabari, Behramji M.**
(1852-1912).

Editor, *Indian Spectator* (W.), *East and West* (M.). Great social reformer, Author of *Gujarat and Gujaratis* (1884). *The Indian Eye on English Life* (1893), *The Indian Problem* (1844).

1885 Foundation Member.

Nagendranath Gupta says: "Malabari told me himself that the *Indian Spectator* never paid its way and that there was a small loss every month ; but he had other sources of income and left a considerable fortune amounting to several lakhs of rupees. Malabari was in high favour with successive Viceroys and Governors of Bombay and when Lord Randolph Churchill visited Bombay, Lord Hay sent him to Malabari's house to meet a select gathering of Indian leaders. He never attended the Indian National Congress even when it met in Bombay" (p. 129).

Malabari presented his famous "Notes on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood" to Lord Ripon's Government in August, 1884.

Ref. H.R. Aug. 1912., pp. 191-193; Oct. 1912, pp. 260-266.

- 402. Mallah, Rameswar (Kumar)**
Zamindar and Merchant,
Hugli.

1887 Vote of thanks.

1901 Mining College to be set up.

- 403. Malik, Bhagwan Das**

Pleader, Dera Ismail Khan. Vice-President, Bratri Sabha.

1886 Expansion of the Council of Secretary of State ; Reform of Legislative Council.

1887 Volunteering.

- 404. Malik, Girdharilal**

1909 Indians in South Africa.

- 405. Mallick, Sarat Kumar**

M.D., Calcutta.

1901 Cadet Corps for Princes.

1903 Supports election of some persons to Parliament.

1906 Self-Government.

1911 Sanitation.

- 406. Mallick, Surendranath**

(d. 1936)

M.A. (1893), B.L. (1894)

Calcutta.

Delegate 1905.

1912 Reform of Legislative Council.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

H. R. 1936, pp. 781-82.

Malvi, Tribhuvandas N.

Chairman, Reception Committee 1907, Surat. (No number has been put against his name, as the Surat Congress ended in a fiasco).

407. Man Singh (Sardar).

Barrister-at-Law, Ludhiana
1900 Military service.

408. Mana Vikram (Raja).

Zamorin family, Calicut, Malabar.

Secretary, Kerala Mahajan Sabha
1894 Land question.

409. Manilal Doctor.

1910, 1911 Indians in colonies.

410. Mansur Ali.

Proprietor, *Nasrut-ul-Akhbar*, Delhi.
1888 Submission of resolutions to Government.

411. Masaldan, Iqbal Narain

(Kashmiri Brahman)
Zamindar, Lucknow, Barrister-at-Law.
1914 Despatch of Indian Expeditionary Force.
1915 Invites Congress to Lucknow.
A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

412. Masaldan, Shyam Narayan

Landholder, Journalist. Proprietor of *Mirat-ul-Hind*; Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.

1886 Legislative Council.

1888 Communal questions not to be considered in Congress.

1890 Congress session in London (spoke in Urdu).

1891 Postponement of session in London.

1892 Jury trial.

1897 Contribution to the cost of Frontier War.

1898 Invites next Congress.

1899 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

Maskhke, Gangadhar Bhai (85)

Pleader, Poona.
1885 Foundation Member.

413. Master, Mansukhlal A. B. A., LL. B.

Secretary, M. G. Das & Co., Santa Cruz, Bombay.
1894 Public Education.

Mayaram, Hiralal (86)

Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Viramgam.
1885 Foundation Member.

414. Meer Wakid Ali.

Zamindar, Moradabad.
1888 Military College; Volun-
teering etc.

415. Meghan Ram.

Pleader, Gurudaspur.
Municipal Commissioner.
1893 Forest Law administra-
tion.

416. Mehta, Bahadurchand

Punjab.
1906 Land Tax.
1916 Arms Act.

417. Mehta, Jamnadas N.

1915 Indian students and the
U. K.

418. Mehta, Jivaraj Narayan
(Dr.) (1887—) M. D. (Lond.),
M. R. C. P. (Lond.)

Physician, Bombay.
Later, Chief Minister, Gujarat
1960. High Commissioner for
India in the U. K.
1915 Indian students in the U.K.
1916 A. I. C. C. member.

**419. Mehta, Parameshwar
Narayan**

Zamindar and Banker,
Muzaffarpur, Leader of North
Bihar.

Delegate No. 226 in 1886,
and again delegate in 1896.

420. Mehta, P. J. (Doctor).

1915 High Court for the
Punjab.

421. Mehta, Pherozeshah M.
(1845-1915), M. A., K. C. I. E.
Graduated from the Elphinstone
College in 1864 and
passed the M. A. examination
six months later.

Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.
Member, Bombay Legislative
Council, 1886, Imperial Legis-
lature, 1893; Fellow and Syndic,
Bombay University; President
of Congress 1890; started the
Central Bank of India, 1911 and
the *Bombay Chronicle*, 1913;
Member, Bombay Corporation
from 1873 for more than 38
years and its Chairman, 1884
and 1885 and again in 1905.
He founded the Bombay
Presidency Association in
collaboration with Telang and
Tyabji.

1885 Commission of Enquiry
into Indian administra-
tion; Annexation of
Burma; Abolition of
India Council; Reform
of Legislative Council.

1888 Election of President;
Simultaneous examina-
tion; Military training
and repeal of the Arms
Act; next Congress.

1889 Address to Bradlaugh;
Welcome to delegates.

1891 Election of President;
appreciation and condo-
lence for Bradlaugh.

1901 British Committee and circulation of *India*. Invites Congress to Bombay Presidency.

1902 Election of President.

1904 Welcomes delegates as Chairman, Reception Committee; Vote of thanks.

1906 Was present in the Subjects Committee, but after the tussle with Tilak there, did not choose to speak in the open session.

1907 Hit at the Surat Congress.

1909 Elected President, but resigned six days before the session.

Chintamani says: "Great as a speaker, he was the greatest debator that India has yet produced" (p. 38).

G. Parameshwaran Pillai wrote in 1899: "Eloquent in speech, excelling in debate, he is one of those who could easily persuade his audience to his own belief by the magic of his voice and the charm of his delivery".

H.R. Sept. 1945, pp. 114-117, an article by N.C. Kelkar on 'Sir Pherozezshah Mehta as I knew him'.

422. Mehta, R. D. (b. 26th July, 1849). His father settled in Calcutta in 1860. His firm, B. Mehta and Co. carried on extensive trade with China.

Leader of the Parsi community in Calcutta. He was placed in charge of the Hongkong branch of his father's firm in 1870. One of the Vice-Presidents of the Indian Association. He became Sheriff of Calcutta in 1893. From 1900 to 1903 he was the Persian Consul in Calcutta.

1886 Volunteering.

1888 *Abkari* policy.

1890 Salt Duty.

1896 Thanks to Wedderburn; Indians in South Africa.

1914 Loyalty to the throne.

423. Menon, Gopal C.

(Nair) Dubash of Messrs Wilson & Co., Madras. Secretary, Mahajan Sabha, 1915.

1913 Welcomed the decision of the Muslim League to demand Self-Government.

424. Menon, Karunakar

B.A., Editor, *Hindu*; Editor and Proprietor, *Indian Patriot* (1908).

1906 Education.

1908 High prices of foodstuff.

1910 Partition of Bengal.

A. I. C. C. 1911.

425. Menon, Narayan

M.A., B.L. (Nair) Vakil,
Calicut.

1908 Army Service.

426. Menon, Sankar, K. P.

Vakil, Madras.

1868 Simultaneous examina-
tion.

427. Mhaske, G. B.

Poona.

1895 Thanks the British
Committee.

Mir Humayun Jah (87).

Landholder, Madras.
President, Central Muhamme-
dan Association ; Member,
Madras Legislative Council ;
Municipal Commissioner.

Delegate 1887.

428. Mirza, Hairat (Omrao)

Author and poet, Delhi.

1888 Reform of Legislative
Council.

1892 Employment of Indians.

429. Mirza Samiullah Beg.

1916 Vote of thanks.

430. Misra, Gokarna Nath

M.A., LL. B.

Vakil, Lucknow; Member,
U.P. Legislative Council, 1916.

In 1918 he became one
of the three General
Secretaries of the Congress.

1901 Police Reform.

1905 Famine ; Economic en-
quiry and Land Revenue.

1906 Land Tax ; Separation of
Judiciary.

1908 Satisfaction of Morley
Despatch.

1909 Regulations under 1909
Act.

1910 Executive Council for
U. P.

1911 Opposed separate com-
munal electorate for
Local Bodies.

1912 Public Service Commis-
sion ; Reform of Legisla-
tive Council.

1914 Loyalty to throne.

1915 Military and naval trai-
ning and Volunteering.

1916 Self-Government for
India.

1917 Release of Ali Brothers;
Protest against punish-
ment without trial.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

Mitra, B. L. (88)

Barrister-at-Law, High
Court, Calcutta.

Law Member of India
1927-1929.

Delegate 1915.

431. **Mitra, Charu Chandra, M.A.**
(1876), B. L. (1877).

Kanpur, Allahabad.
Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board ; Secretary, N. W. P. and Oudh Association ; Member, N. W. P. Assembly 1893.

1893 State regulated immorality.

432. **Mitra, G.C.**

Kanpur.

1899 Local option in Excise matter.

433. **Mitra, Krishna Kumar**
(d. 1936) B. A. (1877)

Professor of History and Economics, City College 1905 ; Editor, *Sanjibani* for 54 years.

He married a daughter of Rajnarain Basu, the maternal grandfather of Sri Aurobindo.

1886 Verdict of Jury to be accepted as final.

1899 Technical education.

1913 Indians in Australia.

Bepin Pal writes : "If Asvini Kumar approaches the type of the Hindu devotee, Krishna Kumar approaches that of the Hebrew Prophet". "At Barisal in 1906, when the police charged a peaceful procession of delegates to the

Bengal Provincial Conference with their quarter-staff and were innocently breaking some heads in the discharge of their duty as guardians of peace and protectors of the people, Krishna Kumar was the only man who rushed between the unarmed and helpless delegates and their assailants, repelled an assaulting constable with his umbrella, dragged him to the Superintendent of Police, under whose evident instructions these assaults were being made, and literally ordered that officer to stop these illegal excesses ; and the moral fervour of the man so completely cowed down that officer that he at once called back his men, and further assaults were stopped". (*The Spirit of Indian Nationalism*, p. 104).

He was deported.

H.R. January 1937,
pp. 509-10.

434. **Mitra, N. N.**

Bengal.

1902 Police Commissioner and India.

435. **Mitra, Provas Chandra**
M. A. (English III last, 1894),
B. L. (1896).

Vakil, Calcutta. Later on
Member, Sedition Committee

(1916), Minister of Education (1921-23), Member, Executive Council (1928). Author of *Question of Judicial and Executive Separation* (1913).

Delegate 1905.

1906 Self-Government or Swaraj.

1911 High Courts should have direct relation with Government of India.

1914 Reform of the Indian Council.

H. R. January 1934, pp. 230-31.

436. Mitra, Rajendralal (1824-1891), D. L. (Honorary, 1876) (Raja). Great Antiquarian. Member, Calcutta Corporation.

1886 President, British India Association.

1886 Expansion of the Council.

He was well versed in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, French and German. He contributed 114 articles to the Journal of the Asiatic Society. His books include the *Indo-Aryans, Antiquities of Orissa; Buddha Gaya; The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. He was a pioneer in collecting infor-

mation regarding Sanskrit manuscripts.

Rajendralal was admitted to the Medical College in Nov. 1839. He supplied such valuable information to the Principal on the indigenous system of Medicine that Dwarkanath Tagore wanted to send him to England at his own expense. As the caste prejudices stood in his way he had to decline the offer. He was rusticated from the College for refusing to divulge the names of fellow students who had misbehaved. He turned to Law but when he went to sit for the examination he found it cancelled on account of leakage of question papers. As he was now 22 years old he thought it necessary to earn his livelihood. He was appointed in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

He started the *Bibidhartha Samgraha*, a first rate illustrated Bengali monthly Journal in 1850 and conducted it for seven years. In 1856 he was appointed Director of Wards' College.

H. R. January 1905, pp. 19-31.

- 437. Mitra, Ramesh Chandra** (1840-99). B.A. (II 1860), B.L. (1861).

Judge, Calcutta High Court (1874-1890); Member, Imperial Legislature. His father was the Head Clerk of the Sadr Adalat at Calcutta. Ramesh Chandra officiated as Chief Justice on two occasions.

1890 President's election.

1896 Chairman, Reception Committee, but too ill to attend. Rash Behari Ghosh read out his speech.

- 438. Mitra, S. B.**
Calcutta.

1906 Self-Government or Swaraj.

- 439 Mitra, Sarada Charan** (1848-1917). Stood first at the Entrance Examination, 1865 and at the First Arts Examination 1867. M. A. (1870), B. L. (1873), P. R. S. (1871). Lecturer in English, Presidency College for some time.

Enrolled as Vakil on the 22nd March, 1873. Judge, High Court, Calcutta 1903. Author of *Land Laws of Bengal* (1895). Fellow, Calcutta University.

1896 Member, Subjects Committee.

1901 Delegate.

- 440. Mitra, Trailokyannath**
B.L. (Hons. in Law, 1867), D.L. (1877). Pleader, Calcutta High Court.

1886 Jury trial.

1887 Rules for the Congress ;
Repeal of the Arms Act ;
Vote of thanks.

1900 The Punjab as a Regulation Province.

- 441. Modak, V.V.**

Bombay.

1895 Liberty of Press.

- Mody, H. P. (89)**

(Parsi) Advocate, Bombay. Later, Governor of the Uttar Pradesh. Biographer of Pherozeshah Mehta.

Delegate 1915.

- 442. Mody, Manockjee P.**

Vakil, Ahmedabad. Secretary, Gujarat Sabha, Surat.

1885 Covenanted Service.

- 443. Mohan Lal (Pandit)**

Advocate, Saharanpur.

1893 Criticism of Judicial decree by Executive deprecated.

Moja, Amba Shankar (90)

President, District Congress Committee, Broach, 1910-1911.

444. Mookansari

Iron merchant, Tanjore.
1887 Technical education.

Moolchand, Udairam (91)

Pleader, Karachi.
1885 Foundation Member.

445. Moonje, Balkrishna Sheoram
(b. 1872). L.M. & S. 1898. Went to Boer War as a Captain. Eye Surgeon and Medical Practitioner, Nagpur. Later on, Leader, Hindu Mahasabha and its President 1927.

1904, 1905 Indian emigrants in British colonies.

446. Morgan Browne, H.

Madras. Secretary, British Congress Committee.

1893 Invites Congress to Madras.

1894 Financial enquiry.

Motilal Keshawlal (92)

Vakil; Municipal Commissioner, Ahmedabad.

1885 Foundation member.

447. Muakhan Ghulam Hasan
South Africa.

1902 Indians in South Africa.

448. Mudaliar, Chidambar

Shiyali, Tanjore District, Madura.

Member, Madras Legislative Council 1915.

1914 Thanks members of Deputation to England.

1915 Land revenue settlement.

449. Mudaliar, Jambulingam C.

Vakil, High Court, Cuddapah. Member, Madras Legislative Council 1898-1900.

1890 Salt tax.

1893 Reformed and enlarged Legislative Council.

1894 Financial enquiry.

1895 Welby Commission.

1898 Sedition law.

450. Mudaliar, Ramaswami (1852-92) B. A. 1871, M. A. 1873, B. L. 1875.

Rose to be a Subordinate Judge, resigned and became Vakil, High Court, Madras. Municipal Commissioner, Salome. Delegate of Madras Mahajan Sabha to England in 1885 Editor, *Law Journal*.

1887 Repeal of the Arms Act; Vote of thanks.

1888 Reform of Legislative Council; Simultaneous examination.

1889 Employment of Indians.

451. Mudaliar, A. Sabhapati

Merchant and landholder,
Chairman, Municipality, Bellary
(Madras).

1885 Enquiry into the condi-
tion of India.

1886 Poverty.

1887 Arms Act ; Expansion of
Legislative Council.

1888 President's election ;
Abkari policy.

1891 Distress of people and
reforms needed.

1894 Cotton Excise Duty.

**452. Mudaliar, Savalai Rama-
swami (Sir)**

Merchant, Sheriff, Muni-
cipal Commissioner, Madras ;
Vice-President, *M a h a j a n*
Sabha.

1887 Read a written speech on
Technical education.

1894 Election of President.

**453. Mudholkar, Ranganath Nara-
sing (1857-1921), B. A.**
(1872), LL. B. (1880).

Fellow, Elphinstone
College 1877. Vakil, Amraoti.
For 19 years Member, Amraoti
Municipality. President of the
Congress 1912.

He started the Berar
Sarvajanic Sabha in 1888 and
was its Secretary till 1898.
Associated with the paper

Vaidarbha. He was one of the
Congress delegates to England
in 1890.

1888 Police administration.

1890 Permanent Settlement ;
contribution to British
Committee.

1891 Distress of people and
reforms needed.

1892 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

1893 Reform of Legislative
Council ; Thanks to
electors of Finnsbay.

1894 Abolition of India Coun-
cil ; Proposed increase of
Magistrate's powers op-
posed.

1895, 1898, 1901, 1905, 1908,
1910, 1911, 1913, 1914
Election of President.

1895 Agricultural indebted-
ness.

1896 Permanent Settlement ;
invites next Congress.

1898 Technical education.

1899 Famine.

1900 Constitution for Congress;
Enquiry into economic
condition.

1901 Poverty.

1903 University Bill; Supports
election of certain candi-
dates to Parliament.

1904 Economic situation ; Par-
tition of Bengal.

- 1905, 1906 Indian Finance ;
Partition of Bengal.
- 1908 Morley's Despatch regarding Reforms hailed as satisfactory.
- 1911 Thanks for annulling Partition.
- 1913 Welcomes Muslim League Resolution regarding Self-Government.
- 1914 Army Service.
- 1915 Self-Government ; Industrial Development.
- 1916 Self-Government.
- 454. Mukherjee, Girija Bhusan**
M. A. (Phil. II 1871), Premchand Roychand Scholar (1873), B. L. (1874).
Pleader. Editor, *Nababihakar*, Calcutta. Died 1887.
1885 Covenanted service.
- 455. Mukherjee, Jayakrishna**
(1808-1888)
Zamindar, Uttarpara. His father was *banian* to H. M's 14th Regiment. He became record keeper in the Hugli Collectorate in 1830. Father of Raja Peary Mohan.
1886 Election of President.
- 456. Mukherjee, Jogendranath**
Bengal.
1902 I.C.S. man should not be District Judge.
- 1910 Separation of Judiciary.
A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.
- 457. Mukherjee, Peary Mohan (Raja)** M. A. (1865), B. L. (1864).
Zamindar, Uttarpara. Member, Legislative Council, Bengal. Member, Imperial Legislature.
1886 Thanks to Chair.
1906 Election of President.
- 458. Mukherjee, Sureshwar**
Medical Practitioner, Calcutta.
1901 Needs of Agriculture.
- 459. Mullick, K. B.**
Journalist, Serampore, later on Kalna (Burdwan).
1891 Forest laws.
1892 Thanks the British Committee.
- 460. Munshi Abdul Talib**
1897 Law of Sedition.
- 461. Munshi, Baldeo Prasad**
Bareilly.
1899 Technical education.
- 462. Munshi, Debi Prasad**
Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Balia (U. P.)
1887 Military service.

Munshi, Kanhalalal M.

(b. 1887)

(Bhargava Brahmana)

Great litterateur in Gujarati. Founder President of Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan. Advocate, Bombay 1913. Joint Editor, *Young India* 1915. Editor, *Gujarat* 1922-1931. Secretary, Bombay Home Rule League, 1919-1920. Home Minister, Bombay 1937-1939. Minister, India Government 1950-1952. Governor of the U. P. 1952-1957.

Delegate 1915.

463. Munshi, Kashi Prasad

Vakil, Allahabad. Secretary of the Hindu Samaj of the N.W.P. and Oudh Association. President, Arya Samaj.

1886 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive
Expansion of the Council.

464. Munshi, Madholal

Varanasi. Member, U. P. Legislative Council 1901.

1905 Chairman, Reception Committee, Varanasi.

A.I.C.C. 1901.

465. Munshi, Mahadeolal

1895 Law touts.

466. Munshi, Sadholal

Rais and Banker, Varanasi.

1886 Verdict of Jury ; Poverty ;
Legislative Council.

467. Muquadam Ibrahim Noor-dien

1908 Satisfaction at Morley's
Despatch.

468. Murlidhar

Pleader, Ambala.

1885 Represented the *Tribune*.

1886 Reform of Legislative
Council. Resolutions to
be sent to Political Associations; thanks to President.

1886 Felicitation ; Jury trial
(spoke twice).

1889 Thanks to the Chair.

1890 Modification of rules of
House of Commons regarding
Indian Budget ;
Reduction of Salt Duty.

1891 Distress of people and
reforms needed.

1892 Separation of Judiciary
from Executive ; Legislative
Council for the Punjab.

1894 Poverty ; High Court for
the Punjab.

1899 The Punjab Land Alienation
Act ; Invites the next
Congress to the Punjab,

1900 Deputation to Viceroy.

1903 Official Secrets Bill.

1904 Tibetan affairs and foreign policy.

Nagendranath Gupta says that Lala Murlidhar always assumed the role of Court jester to the Congress (p. 157).

469. Nadkarni, Ghanashyam

Nilakantha

Vakil, Bombay.

1885 Foundation Member.

1886 Expansion of Legislative Council.

470. Nagarkar, Raghunath Daji

Landholder and Pleader, Poona. Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona (1899). Municipal Commissioner.

1894 Financial enquiry.

1896 Reduction of Salt tax.

1898 Indians in South Africa.

471. Naidu, C. R.

South Africa.

1909 Indians in South Africa.

472. Naidu, Narayanaswami C.
(d. 1896).

Landholder and Pleader, Nagpur. Secretary, District Council and President of Municipality, Nagpur.

1891 Chairman, Reception Committee. Welcome Address.

473. Naidu, A.C. Parthasarathi

Editor, *Andhra Prakasaka*, Madras.

1886 Delegate.

1888 Police Administration.

1891 Postponement of session of Congress in England.

1894 Poverty of Indians (speech in Telugu).

1895 Exchange Compensation allowance.

1898 Omnibus resolution.

1899 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive; Local option.

1900 Admission to Cooper's Hill College.

1903 Condemns Madras Municipal Bill; Partition of Bengal.

1905 Reform in Police Administration.

1908 High prices of foodstuff.

1914 Army service.

474. Naidu, Ramanjulu

Merchant, Bellary.

1897 Extension of the scope of Famine Commission.

475. Naidu, Rangiah P.

Pleader, Madras. Landlord. President of the Madras Mahajan Sabha. Chairman, Reception Committee, 1894.

1885 Military expenditure.

1886 Resolutions to be sent to the Viceroy ; expansion of the Legislative Council.

1887 Vote of thanks.

1894 Welcomes delegates as Chairman.

A. I. C. C. 1901

G. Parameshwaran Pillai writes in 1899 : "Dark in complexion, his face covered with patches of grey hair which stand in imminent need of the barber's assistance, one of the eyes half open, the other full, he moves about with the ease and energy of a young man of five and twenty. Over seventy years of age, he has known no ailments, suffered from no disease. Rough in speech and even uncouth in expression, he offends none, displeases none".

Naidu, S.P. Narasimhlulu (94)

Editor, *Crescent*, Coimbatore.

1885 Foundation Member.

476. Naidu, Sarojini (1879-1949)

The great poet. At the age of thirteen she wrote "Lady of the Lake" in 1300 lines. President of the Congress 1925. Rose to be the Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

1915 Self-Government for India.

1916 Arms Act ; Self-Government for India.

1917 Withdrew a resolution on franchise for women. Immediate implementation of the Congress-League scheme of Reforms.

H. R. March, 1949.

477. Naidu, Venkataram

1911 Modification of Regulations made under 1909 Act.

478. Nair, Krishnan (1870-1938)

Member, Legislative Council, Madras (1903-1910). Became Chief Justice of the Travancore High Court 1910. Law Member 1928-34.

1902 Tata Research Institute.

1903 Madras Municipality Bill condemned.

1904 Indians in Public Service.

1906 Separation of Judiciary.

1908 Partition of Bengal.

Ref. H. R. July 1938, p. 73.

479. Nair, S. Kutton

Landholder, Palghat (Malabar).

1893 Technical education.

1895 Military expenditure.

1899 Omnibus resolution.

1903 Indians in South Africa.

1906 National Education.

1911 Swadeshi.

1914 Protection of Indian Industries.

480. Nair, T. M.

Madras.

1898 Military service.

1899 Military Medical Service; Protests against the prohibition of teachers attending political meetings.

Subhaschandra Bose observes that Dr. T. M. Nair was made a leader in London by the British Government in opposition to the Congress leaders when the Government of India Bill 1919 was being considered (*Indian Struggle*, p. 50).

481. Nair, C. Sankaran

(1857-1934). B.L. (standing first) 1879.

Fellow of the Madras University 1889. He was a Municipal Commissioner of Madras, Syndic of the Madras University, Member of the Provincial Legislative Council, Government Pleader, President of the Mahajana Sabha, President of the Provincial Conference; Member of the Indian Universities

Commission and a High Court Judge. Vakil, Madras. Editor, *Madras Review*. Member, Madras Legislative Council 1890. Member, Madras Municipality. President of the Congress 1897. Judge, Madras High Court 1908-1915. Education Member, Viceroy's Council 1915-1919. Resigned as a protest against the Punjab atrocities. Member of the Secretary of States Council 1920-1921. President of Madras Social Reform Association.

1887 Volunteering.

1889 Vote of thanks. Thanks to Lord Reay.

1891 Vote of thanks to Dada-bhai Naoroji.

1892 Thanks the British Committee. Vote of thanks to Chair.

1894 Military and civil expenditure.

1902, 1904, 1906 Election of President.

H. R. January 1934, pp. 228-29, July 1934, pp. 37-39.

482. Najmuddin Satara.

1895 Forest administration.

483. Nakhre, A. B.

Central Provinces.

1894 Military and civil expenditure.

484. Nambler, R. V.

Vakil, Madras.

1899 Protests against teachers' prohibition of attending political meetings.

1900 Permanent Settlement.

1901 Police reform.

1903 Partition of Bengal.

1905 Military expenditure

A.I.C.C. 1901.

485. Namjoshi, Mahadev Ballal
(1853-1896)

Life Member, Deccan Education Society. Commissioner, Poona Municipality.

1886 Poverty; Legislative Council ; Jury trial ; Enquiry Commission demanded.

1887 Constitution for the Congress ; Expansion of Legislative Council.

1891 Congress session in England.

1892 Reform of Legislative Council.

1893 Education.

1894 Proposed increase in powers of Magistrate condemned.

486. Nanabhai, Bhaishankar

Bombay.

1902 Enquiry into villages.

Nandkeolyar, Harnandan
(1892-1931) (95)

Son of Jawaharlal, Manager Tikari Raj.

Barrister-at-Law, Patna

Delegate 1915.

487. Nandy, Alfred

Joined Bar, Gorakhpur, 8th June, 1874. Barrister-at-Law Jubbulpur, Gorakhpur etc. Author of (1) *The Present Situation with special reference to the Punjab disturbances* (1919), (2) *Indian Unrest* (1919-1920), (3) *Political Problems and Hunter Committee Disclosures* (1920), (4) *Revolution or Evolution* (1922).

1894 Poverty of India.

1897 Exercise of extraordinary power by Government under Regulation III of 1818.

488. Nandy, P. C. (Dr.)

1896 Civil Medical Service.

489. Naoroji, Dadabhai (1825-1917). He was one of the most brilliant students of the Elphinstone College, of which he became the Professor of Mathematics and Natural

Philosophy in 1854. He joined the firm of Cama & Co. in England in 1855. He founded there the East India Association. Member, Bombay Legislative Council 1885-1886. Dewan of Baroda 1874 ; Member of the House of Commons 1892-95. President of the Congress in 1886, 1893 and 1906.

1885 Enquiry into the condition of India ; reform of the Legislative Council (spoke twice) ; Covenanted Service.

Chintamani writes : "He stressed again and again the manifold evils of political subjection (for 61 years). For years he was the most moderate among public speakers, but in the latter part of his career continued disappointments drove him in spite of himself to employ language marked by great and increasing bitterness" (p. 36.). He started in 1854 the *Rast-Gafter* (Truth-teller) in Gujarati as a weekly paper to further the cause of social and religious reform in India. The paper became famous. M. R. 1907, p. 77.

490. Nargutikar, T.

Belgaum.

1905 Police reform.

491. Narain, Lakshmi D.

Merchant and Banker,
Kamptee, C. P.

1909 Executive Council in U.P.
etc.

1915 Land Settlement.

492. Narayan, Vishnu Baba

Poona.

1888 Salt tax (in Hindusthani).

493. Natarajan, K. (1868-1948),
B. A. 1884.

Journalist, Bombay. President, Madras Provincial Social Conference, 1911. Edited the *Indian Social Reformer* for fifty years.

1904 Economic situation.

H. R. 1948 May-June,
p. 329.

494. Natesan, G. A. (1873-1949)
Graduated in 1897. Editor, *Indian Review*, Madras. Member, Madras Corporation for a quarter of a century. Member, Council of State.

1903 Military expenditure.

1904 Education.

1905 Excise Policy.

1906 Retrenchment in military
expenditure.

1909 Indians in South Africa.

- 1914 Rejoices at the partial settlement of the South African question ; Prohibition of Indentured Labour.
- 1915, 1916 Indians in British colonies.
- 1916 War and Indian Manpower.
- 1917 Depressed Classes.
- A.I.C.C. 1910-1911, 1916-1917.
- H. R. Feb. 1949, pp. 137-38 : "Madras City remembers him as the first person who launched Gandhiji on his political career in the South. It was at Natesan's office that Gandhi first came into contact with C. Rajagopalachari."
- 495 Nath, Charles Golak**
Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.
- 1888 Reform of Legislative Council.
- Nathbhoy, Tribhubandas Mangaldas (96)**
Bombay.
- 1885 Foundation Member.
- 496. Natu, Kashinath Govinda**
Pleader, Poona. Municipal Commissioner.
- 1890 Modification of rules of the House of Commons,
- 1891 Forest laws.
- 1892 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.
- 1893 Forest law administration
- 1894 Judicial service.
- 497. Natu, Vishnu Raghunath**
Pleader, Belgaum (Bombay).
- 1893 Omnibus resolution.
- 1894 Land question.
- 1895 Right of making Interpellation in the Legislature.
- 1902 Enquiry into village.
- 498. Navalrai, Lalchand**
1913 Separation of Judiciary.
- 499. Khaja Atikullah (Nawab)**
Dacca.
- 1906 Condemns the Partition of Bengal.
- 500. Nayudu, Cottari Vyankat Ramanna**
Barrister-at-Law, Nagpur.
- 1890 Expansion and reform of Legislative Council.
- 1891 Arms Act to be modified.
- 1892 Jury trial.
- 1893 Thanks House of Commons regarding simultaneous examination.
- 1894 Land question.
- 501. Nayudu, Narayan Swami**
Pleader and Landholder. President, Nagpur Municipality. Secretary, District Council.

1891 Welcomes delegates as Chairman ; Election of President ; Postponement of the session of Congress in England.

1892 Reform of Legislative Council.

502. Nayudu, Venkatreddi K.

Madras.

1915 Military and Naval training and volunteering.

503. Neelkrishna Bahadur (Kumar) of Sobhabazar Raj family.

1890 Congress session in London.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889-1964)
B.A., M.A. (Cantab) (97)
Barrister-at-Law.

Delegate 1912, 1915, 1916.
One of the Secretaries of the Congress in 1923. President of the Congress, 1929, 1936, 1937, 1946 and 1951 to 1954. Prime Minister of India 1947-1964.

504. Nehru, Motilal (1861-1931)

Vakil, Allahabad 28th March 1883. Barrister-at-Law 24th January, 1896.

Member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1909, 1915. Member, Municipal Board. President of the Congress 1919 and 1928. He was one of the four Secretaries of the Congress in 1921.

1888 Delegate.

1891, 1892, 1904 Member of the Subjects Committee.

1907 Supported Surendranath Banerjea's proposal for electing Rash Behari Ghosh as President of the Surat Congress.

1910 Vote of thanks.

1912 Condoles the death of Hume ; Executive Council for U. P.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

505. Nimbkar, Janardan Raghunath

Pleader, Nasik. Municipal Commissioner.

1889 Permanent Settlement.

1891 Forest laws.

1892 Employment of Indians in Public Service.

506. Nissar Ali Shohrat

Director of Public Instruction, Kashmir.

1890 Expansion and reform of Legislative Council.

507. **Nivedita** (Sister) (Miss Margaret Noble) 28th October, 1867—13th October, 1911.

1905 Resl. XX Appointment of Gokhale as delegate to England. "We will redeem England, we will redeem Europe, we will redeem this world from this spectacle. Our dream of an Indian nationality is not a selfish dream for India, but it is a dream for humanity in which India shall be the Mother of a great cause ; shall be the fosterer and the nurse to all that is noble, humane and great. If you would do this, then India must not be passing passive in the present be an authorised and accredited representative in the great struggle that is now once more about to open, in which these nonsenses of distinction between the old fashioned obsolete conservatism and Radical will be swept away for ever and we shall see the absolute question of English Empire to the Imperialism *versus* Nationality, Slavery for Nations *versus*

Nationality for the people of the earth" (Report, p. 96).

Her valuable paper on the Indian National Congress was published in the *Hindustan Review*, Dec. 1912, pp. 429-432.

508. **Noor, Khwaja Muhammad** (b. 28 Sept. 1878) B. A. (1901). B. L. (1903). Practised as a lawyer from 1904 to 1922. Zamindar, Gaya ; Municipal Commissioner, Gaya ; Vice-Chairman 1912-18, M.L.C. B. & O. 1913-22. Speaker, Bihar Legislative Council 1922-30. Judge, Patna High Court, 1930. Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, 1933-36.

1901 Needs of Agriculture.

1906 Swadeshi.

509. **Norton, Eardley**

Barrister-at-Law, Madras, then in Calcutta. Member, Imperial Legislature 1895-1897. In 1908 appeared for the Crown to prosecute Sri Aurobindo and Tilak.

1887 Reform of Legislature ; Rules Committee and Constitution for Congress.

1888 Simultaneous examination.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council ; Representation in England ; qualification for franchise.

1894 Abolition of India Council
1903 Election of President.

G. Parameshwaran Pillai writes in 1899 : "About six feet high, thin of body and limb, he possesses a face remarkable in itself. To see it is to love it. See him once and there is no forgetting him. His eyes flash like lightning, they pierce you on all sides.

He said in the Congress in Madras in 1887 : "If it is sedition, gentlemen, to rebel against all wrong, if it be sedition to resist class tyranny, to raise my voice against oppression, to mutiny against injustice, to insist upon a hearing before sentence, to uphold the liberties of the individual, to vindicate our common right to gradual to ever-advancing reform, if this be sedition, I am right glad to be called a seditionist".

510. Nulkar, Krishnaji Lakshmar
(1830-1893)

From a clerk he rose to be Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay and Dewan of Bhuj and Kutch. Secretary, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha 1878-87. Member, Bombay Legislative Council 1892. Member, Imperial Legislature

1890. Member, Public Service Commission 1886-87.

1885 Enquiry into the condition of India ; reform of Legislative Council ; annexation of Burma.

511. Padhye, Damodar Ganesh
M. A.

Principal, G. T. School, Bombay. Fellow, Bombay University (1906). Member, Bombay Municipality. Editor *Indu Prakash* (1906).

1895 Expenditure on trans-frontier expedition.

1896 Simultaneous examination. 1902, 1904, 1905 Education.

A. I. C. C. 1910-1911.

512. Padhye, Mahadeo Kashi

Pleader, Landholder, Nagpur.

1902 Police Commission and Indians.

1904 Salary of Secretary of State.

1906 Education.

1915 Abolition of Indentured Labour.

A. I. C. C. 1910-11.

513. Pal, Bipin Chandra (1858-1932)

Passed the entrance Examination III Dn., 1874. Did not appear at the F. A. in 1876 ; got plucked in 1877

and 1879. Became Head Master of the Academy, a High English School in 1879. As a delegate described himself in 1886 as Landholder, Sylhet. Journalist ; edited *Paridarshak* 1880, *Tribune*, Lahore (1887-88). Preacher, Sylhet (1897). Served as Licence Inspector of the Calcutta Corporation in 1892-1893. He went to England in 1898 with a scholarship from the British and Foreign Universities Association. He started the *New India* in 1901, the *Swaraj* (Fortnightly) 1909 and *Hindu Review* (M) in 1912. He was convicted in 1907 to simple imprisonment for 6 months on a charge of contempt of court. He was again imprisoned for one month in 1911 for sedition.

1886 Verdict of Jury to be accepted as final.

1887 Military Service ; Repeal of the Arms Act.

1888 Commission to enquire into Industrial condition and Technical education.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

1896 Repeal of Inland Emigration Act

1897 Vote of thanks to the Chair.

1901 Raising the wages of Coolies in Assam.

1904 Vote of thanks.

1906 Boycott.

1916 Self-Government for India.

1917 The Congress League scheme of Reforms should be introduced immediately. The underlying principle and idea of that scheme (the Lucknow scheme) is to oppose and to obstruct the Government, to make the Government impossible by and by if we could manage to do so (Pandit Malaviya said, "No, no").

Sri Aurobindo wrote in the *Karmayogin*, 22nd January, 1910 : "Bipin Chandra Pal is the prophet and first preacher of passive resistance. He is the man most detested and denounced by the Indian Revolutionary Organisations".

Bipin Pal wrote in the *Bande Mataram*, 3rd October, 1906 : "No one outside a lunatic asylum will ever think of or counsel any violent or any unlawful methods in India in her present helplessness for the attainment of her civil freedom."

He parted company with extremism and Congress during

the last half a dozen years of his life.

Sri Aurobindo wrote on December 5, 1944 to Charu Chandra Datta : "I was the writer of the series of articles on the 'Passive Resistance' published in April 1907 to which reference had been made ; Bipin Pal had nothing to do with it. He ceased his connection with the paper towards the end of 1906 and from that time onward was not writing any editorials or article for it." (*Sri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother*, p. 93).

Pal, Radha Charan (Rai Bahadur) (98)

Son of Kristo Das Pal. Member, Calcutta Corporation for a long time. Member, Bengal Legislative Council. Delegate 1914.

514. Pal, Trailokyanath
Pleader, Calcutta.
1899 Technical education.

515. Pal Chaudhury, Bipradas
(Nadia)
1901 Poverty.

516. Pal Chaudhury, Nafar Chandra
Zamindar, Nadia; Member, District Board; Tea and Indigo Planter, Merchant.

1889 Vote of thanks.

1890 Thanks to those who lent houses for Congress.

Palit, Taraknath (Sir) (99)

Famous Barrister-at-Law of Calcutta. Made a gift of fifteen lacs of rupees to the Calcutta University. Delegate 1905.

517. Pattanwala

1917 Indians in Colonies.

518. Pandey, Hariram Almora

1899 Cost of British Forces in India (spoke in Urdu).

519. Pandey, Lakshman

1909 Indians in South Africa.

520. Pandey, Ramsaran Lal

Ghazipur.

1905 Repressive measures in Bengal (spoke in Urdu).

521. Pandit Gopinath.

Secretary, Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Lahore.

1893 Distress amongst the people (spoke in Urdu).

522. Pandit, Hari Mahadeo

Editor, *Deshasevaka*, an Anglo-Marathi Weekly, Nagpur.

1892 Distress of people and reduction of cost of administration.

Pandit, Prithwinath (100)
A. I. C. C. 1901

523. Pandit, S. N.

Ahmedabad
1902 Election of President.

524. Pandit, V. A.

C. P.
1906 Swaraj.

525. Pandit, Vasudeva Rao Harihar

Priest to Kolhapur Maharaja; Municipal Commissioner; Vice-President, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.
1896 Congratulation to Queen Victoria.

526. Pandit, V. P.

Bar.-at-Law Nagpur.
1901 Education.
1911 Elementary Education.
1915 High Court for the Punjab
A. I. C. C. 1901.

527. Pant, H. D.

Medical Practitioner,
Lucknow.
1910 Medical Service.

528. Pantulu, Ati Apadu

Phadu, Vizagapatam ;
Member, District Board and
Local Board.
1896 Thanks to Wedderburn.

529. Pantulu, Jogiah V. V.

Berhampore (Ganjam).
1910 Elementary education.
1912 Swadeshi Movement.
1913 Public Service Commission.

**Pantulu, N. Subba Rao—see
Subba Rao**

530. Pantulu, Sadhu Ganapati
Madras.

1914 Self-government for India.
1916 Press Act.
1917 Indians in Colonies.

531. Pantulu, S. V. G. (Not included in the list of delegates in 1885).

1885 Customs.
1886 Poverty of India.

**532. Paranjpe, Raghunath
Purshottam**

Feb. 1876 to May. 1966
M. A., B. Sc. Wrangler.
Principal, Fergusson College,
Poona 1902-14. Member,
Bombay Legislative Council
1916-23. Minister of Education,
Bombay 1921-23 ; of Forests
and Excise 1927. Member,
India Council 1927-32.
1898 Executive Council for
Bombay and Madras.
1915 Indian students in the
U. K.
1916 Patna University Bill.
A. I. C. C. 1917.

- 533. Paranjpe, Shivaram Mahadeva**
 Editor, *Kal*, Poona. Secretary, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha (1900).
 An associate of Tilak. He was one of those Mahratta writers who were able to fire the imagination of the Mahratta young men by their writings. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar regards him as his Guru. He was a past master of sarcasm.
 1896 Reform of University.
 1900 Admission to Cooper's Hill College.
- 534. Parekh, Gokuldas K.**
 B. A., LL. B.
 Pleader, Bombay ; Member, Bombay Legislative Council (1902, 1908, 1910).
 1902 Poverty.
 1903 Land Assessment.
 1904 Economic situation.
 1908 Quarantine.
 1909 Election of President.
 A. I. C. C. 1910-11, 1916-17.
- 535. Patel, Banaji**
 1906 Self-government or Swaraj
- 536. Patil, Appaji. Govindarao**
 Pleader, Ahmedabad
 1902 Railway service.
 1906 Education.
 1908 Separation of Judiciary.
- 537. Patel, Manekji Kesavji**
 Merchant, Bombay.
 1902 Poverty; Railway service.
 1904 Economic situation.
 1905 Education.
 1906 National education; Separation of Judiciary.
- 538. Patel, S. B.**
 1906 Validity of Waki-i-ala-ulad.
- 539. Patel, S. M.**
 Ahmedabad.
 1902 Railway service.
- 540. Patel, Sorabji F.**
 Merchant, Bombay.
 1886 Poverty; Resolution to be sent to Viceroy; Venue of the next Congress.
- 541. Patel, V. J.**
 Famous advocate of Bombay. In 1918 he became one of the three General Secretaries of the Congress.
 1915 Executive Council for U. P.
- 542. Pathepekar**
 1917 Cadet Corps and military training to Indians.
- 543. Patro, A.P. (Annepu Parasuramdas) (1875-1946) B.A., B.L.**
 Vakil, Landholder, Berhampore (Ganjam); Founder

of the Justice Party; Minister,
Madras 1921-26.

1910 Education.

1911 Local Self-government.

1914 Despatch of Indian expeditionary forces.

1915 Fiscal freedom.

A.I.C.C. 1916-17.

H. R. June 1946, p. 71.

544. Patshaha, P. J.

Professor, Ahmedabad
College.

1887 Military service.

545. Patwardhan, Keshav Vishwanath

Pleader, Ahmadnagar and
Municipal Commissioner.

1888 Permanent Settlement.

546. Patwardhan, Vishnu Anant

Pleader, Poona; represented the Deccan Sabha.

1899 Cost of British forces in India.

547. Perraju, M. S.

Chairman, Municipality,
District Board, Rajmahendry.

1902 Poverty.

1906 Partition of Bengal.

1908 Swadeshi.

548. Petit, Dinshaw

1916 Self-government for India.

549. Petit, Jehangir Bomanji
Merchant, Bombay.

1904, 1905 Representation of
Indians to House of Commons,
India Council and Legislature in India.

1908 Satisfaction at Morley's
Despatch re. Reforms.

1909 Regulations under 1909
Act should be changed.

1913 Welcomed the decision of
the Muslim League to demand
Self-government.

1915 India and the Colonies.

1916 Self-government for India..

550. Phansalkar, Ganesh Ballal
Pleader, Satara.

1895 Freedom of Press.

1898 Expenditure on Plague.

1899 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

551. Pillai, A.

1901 Indians in South Africa.

552. Pillai, Kesava P.

Pleader and member,
Local Board (1885); Member
of Madras Legislative Council,
1908, 1910, 1914. Secretary of
the Congress 1916.

1885 Foundation member.

1892 Forest Laws.

1914 Reciprocity between
Colonies and India.

1917 Exercise of extraordinary powers by Government under Reg. III of 1818.

553. Pillai, J. M. Nala Swamiji

Vakil, High Court, resident of Madura.

1891 Arms Act.

554. Pillai, Parameshwaram G.

(1864-1903)

Editor, *Madras Standard*, Madras; Author.

1895, 1896 Indians in South Africa.

1896 Provincial Contracts; Executive Council for Madras.

1898 Indians in South Africa.

He has been called the father of political agitation in Travancore in a book written on his life by "Keraliyan" (1928). He helped Mahatma Gandhi in 1896 in enlisting support for the cause of Indians in South Africa. Gandhi acknowledges his debt in his autobiography.

555. Pillai, Peter Paul

Schoolmaster and Landholder, Tinnevely (1885). Barrister-at-Law, Madras (1902).

1885 Enquiry into condition of India,

1891 Forest law administration.

1892 Distress of the people and reduction of cost of administration.

1893 Permanent Settlement.

1894 Land question; Legislative Council.

1902 Economy enquiry demanded.

1903 Land assessment.

1909 High prices and Enquiry Commission.

556. Pillai, Rama Chandra

Pleader, Landholder, Secunderabad.

1891 Arms Act to be modified.

1894, 1895 Liberty of the Press

1898 Freedom of Press; Vote of thanks to the Chair.

A. I. C. C. 1901.

557. Pillai, Ratna Sabhapati

Pleader, Negapatam. Land-holder. Chairman, Municipality.

1890 Permanent Settlement.

1898 Constitution for the Congress.

558. Pillai, Somasamudram

Vakil, Madras.

1911 Police Reform.

1914 Arms Act,

559. Pillai, Vasudeva V. G.
1903 Indians in South Africa.

560. Polak, H. S. L.
Attorney-at-Law, South Africa
1909 Indians in South Africa.
1911, 1916 Indians in Colonies.

561. Pradhan, R. G.
1916 Press Act.

562. Prannath, Pandit (d. 1892)
Teacher, Canning College,
Lucknow, son of Sambhunath
Pandit, Judge, Calcutta High
Court.
1885 Foundation member.
1886 Poverty.

In his Presidential address,
1892, W. C. Bonnerjee said of
Prannath: "Though he died
young, he was of great service
to his country and to our
cause and had he been spared
he would have done, still
greater services."

Prasad, Beni (101)
Merchant and Zamindar.
Mirzapore. Member, Municipality and District Board.
Delegate 1900.

563. Prasad, Braj Kishore
M. A. 1898 ; B. L. 1900
from B. N. College, Patna.
Vakil, Darbhanga.

Member, Bengal Legislative Council (1910).

1910 Separation of Judiciary.

1916 Grievances of Champaran
peasants against Indigo
planters.

A.I.C.C. 1910-11, 1916-17.

Prasad, Gajadhar (102)

Pleader, Bankipore;
Municipal Commissioner,
Patna.

Delegate 1886.

564. Prasad, Maheshwar

Professor, Kayastha
Pathshala, Allahabad.

1899 Freedom of Press.

1901 Education.

565. Prasad, Debi (May be the same
as Sukla, Debi Prasad)

1910 Indians in Colonies.

566. Prasad, Narayan (Munshi)
U. P.

1911 Deprecates separate elec-
torate for Local Bodies.

567. Prasad, Raghunandan

1910 Indians in Colonies.

568. Prasad, Ram

Allahabad.

1899 Local option (Spoke in
Urdu).

- Purusottamdas Naraindas (103).**
 Merchant; Vice-President, Praja Hitabardhaka Sabha, Surat.
 1885 Foundation member.
- 569. Qadir, Abdul (Munshi)**
 Manager, "Barrin Gazette", Ambala.
 1892 Omnibus resolution.
- 570. Ragen (Doctor)**
 Madras.
 1917 Military training to Indians and Cadet Corps.
- 571. Rahmatullah, Ibrahim (Sir)**
 (b. May, 1862)
 Merchant, Bombay ; Member, Legislative Council, President, Corporation 1899. Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1899-1909, of the Imperial Legislature, 1912. President, Bombay Legislative Council 1923-28. Revenue Member, Bombay Government 1922.
 1915 Fiscal Freedom ; Self-government for India.
- 572. Rahman, Abdul**
 1913 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.
- 573. Rai, Krishnadas**
 Rais, Varanasi
 1914 Arms Act.
 A.I.C.C. 1916-17.
- 574. Rajan, T. S. S. (1880-1953)**
 (Dr.) L. R. C. P. .
 He served the Congress for over 39 years. Gave up practice in 1920. Rose to be a Minister of Madras.
 1916 Arms Act.
Rajendra Prasad (1884-1963)
 M. A., M. L. (104)
 Professor, University Law College, Calcutta 1914-16.
 First President of the Indian Republic.
 Elected to A.I.C.C. 1915-16 though not present at the Bombay Congress 1915 ; resigned.
 Delegate 1916 and elected to A.I.C.C. which he attended early in 1917. He became one of the three General Secretaries of the Congress in 1922 along with Vallabhbhai Patel and Moazzam Ali.
 H. R. Nov. 1934, pp. 281-288.
- 575. Raju, J. Dharna Ranga**
 Student, Agricultural College, Chingleput.
 1887 Technical education.
- 576. Rajpal, P. L. (Arya).**
 Manufacturing Agent, S. W. & Co. Ltd., Amritsar.
 1908 Repeal of Reg. III of 1818.
 1910 Executive Council for U.P.

Rajwade, V. K. (105)

Professor, Bombay.

Delegate No. 459 in 1903.

577. Raju Venkatapathy

Member, Legislative Council.

1916 Volunteering and Commission in the Army.

578. Ramamurti

The famous gymnast.

1917 Demands the opening of Cadet Corps and expresses satisfaction at the opening of Officers' rank to Indians.

579. Ramana, A.

1906 Self-government or Swaraj.

580. Ramaswami

Madras.

1899 Opposition to the introduction of Gold Standard.

581. Ramchand, Mathuradas

1908 Repeal of the Acts of 1908.

1913 Welcomed the decision of the Muslim League to demand self-government; Public Service Commission; Permanent Settlement.

582. Ramesan, V.

Vakil, Vizagapatam.

1898 Indians in South Africa.

583. Ranade, H. H.

Bombay.

1906 Retrenchment in military expenditure.

584. Ranade, Mahadeva Govinda (1842-1901).

One of the founders of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Indian National Congress, Indian Social Reform Conference. Entered Government Service 1866. Served as a Sub-Judge for a long time; rose to be a High Court Judge in 1893, and continued to hold the post till his death in 1901. Member, Bombay Legislative Council 1885, 1891-92.

1885 Reform of Legislative Council.

(But he was not one of the delegates.)

Ranade attended most of the Congress sessions as a visitor. He attended the Lahore Congress in 1893 soon after his elevation to the Bench of the Bombay High Court. He was accommodated in a small bare room on the first floor of a house at the northern end of Anarkali Bazar. While many of the delegates complained of the bitter cold he appeared perfectly unconcerned. Tilak, Gokhale and some

others from the Deccan stayed at the same house.

Surendranath Banerjee writes (p. 46) : "He was a constant figure on the Congress platform as a visitor, and he was the power behind the throne, guiding, advising, and encouraging the Congress leaders in their work. His simplicity, the charm of his manners, his intellectual eminence and his genuine and all-consuming love of country fascinated all who came in contact with him."

In 1901 Maharaja Jagadindra Nath Roy of Natore said in his speech at the Congress : "After Ram Mohan Roy he (Ranade) was the only one amongst our countrymen who realised the whole problem in all its universality and comprehensiveness. He knew that the problem was not only political and economic but also social and religious." R I N C 1901, p. 17).

H. R. 1926, pp. 148-153, article by K. Natarajan.

585. Ranade, N. B.

Editor, Educational books, Bombay.

1902 Education.

1904 Tibetan affairs and Forward Policy.

1905 Military expenditure.

586. Ranchhore Lal.

1889 Abolition of Plat Duties.

587. Ranga Chariar, T., B.A., B.L.

Landholder and Pleader, Chittoor ; Vakil, Madras.

1895 Grievances of Third Class Railway passengers.

588. Ram Vijaya (Dewan Bahadur)

Talukdar, Partabgarh.

1888 Military College; Volunteering ; Repeal of the Arms Act.

589. Rao, Chidambara T.

Pleader, Bellary.

1886 Sessions trial.

1898 Confidence in Dadabhai Naoroji.

590. Rao, Hanumantia K.

1916 Education.

591. Rao, Krishna A.S., M.A., B.L.

Vakil, Vellore.

Member, Madras Legislative Council 1912, 1916.

1909 Deportation Regulation should be repealed.

1910 Seditious Meetings Act.

1912 Legislative Council Reform.

1913 Reform of the India Council; Permanent Settlement.

1914 Reform of the India Council.

1915 Imperial Conference.

1916 Education.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

592. Rao, Krishna D. V. B. L.

Vakil, Rajahmundry.
1910 Swadeshi.

593. Rao, Krishna K. R. V.

Member, Madras Legislative Council, 1914.

1914 Protection of Indian Industries.

1915 Industrial Development of India.

594. Rao, Krishnaswamy K.

Retired Dewan of Travancore.

1908 Chairman, Reception Committee, Madras.

Rao, Nageshwar M. (106)

Pleader, Cuddapah.

1885 Foundation member.

595. Rao, Narasimha S. V. (Rai Bahadur)

Kurnool

1912 Local Self-government.

A. I. C. C. 1917.

596. Rao, Narayan K.

Vakil, Madras.

1905 Thanks to the Indian Delegates to England.

597. Rao, Prakasa D. N.

Coconada.

1914 Despatch of Indian Expeditionary Force.

598. Rao, Raghunath

Deputy Collector, Madras.

A great pillar of the Social Reform movement. (Was not a delegate in 1885).

1885 Reform of the Legislative Council.

He has been described as the Nurse of the Indian National Congress by C. P. Pillai. Blunt describes him as a well-informed progressive leader of Madras.

599. Rao, Raghava, B. L.

Vakil, Madras ; Member, Madras Legislative Council (1910).

1903 Partition of Bengal.

1910 Local Self-government.

600. Rao, Rama (Rajah)

Trivandrum.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

601. Rao, Ramchandra M. (1868-1936) B. L. Vakil, Ellore, Madras ; Member, Legislative Council, Madras 1910, 1916.

1910 Local Self-government.

1916 Indentured Labour.

A.I C.C. 1910-11, 1916-17.

H. R. June, 1936, P. 847.

602. Rao, Srinivasa G.

Chairman, Municipality, Madura (1905). Member of Madras Legislative Council (1901-1902).

1901 Separation of Judiciary.

1904 Salary of Secretary of State.

1905 Representation of Indians in Parliament, India Council and Executive Council.

1911 Demands repeal of Seditious Meetings Act, Press Act and Deportation Regulation.

603. Rao, K. Srinivasa

Coimbatore; Member, Madras Legislative Council 1902.

1894 Separation of Judiciary.

1902 Increased burden on India.

1903 Official Secrets Bill.

Rao Subba, N. Pantulu—See Subba Rao.

604. Rao, K. Venkata

Merchant, Madras.

1886 Jury trial.

1887 Separation of Judiciary.

1905 India and general election.

605. Rao (spelt as Rhau), Venkata-pati

1917 Cadet Corps and admission to Officers' rank.

Rasul, Abdul (1872-1917)
(107). M. A., B. C. L. (Oxon.)

Landlord ; Barrister-at-Law ; married a foreign lady. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1915. President of the famous Barisal Conference 1906.

Delegate 1912, 1915.

A. I. C. C. 1916-17.

606. Ratti Damodardas Seth.

1915 Swadeshi movement (spoke in Hindi).

607. Reddi, K. Venkata

1914 Army Service.

608. Roshan Lal

Barrister, Arya-Samajist, Allahabad.

1892 Employment of Indians.

1893 Thanks to House of Commons for resolution re: simultaneous exam.

Rout, Krishnaswami (108)

Salem.

1885 Foundation member.

609. Roy, Ananda Chandra

Dacca.

1911 Thanks for creating the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

A.I.C.C. 1910-11.

610. Roy, Atul Chandra
B. L. 1901.

1911 High Courts to have direct relation with Government of India.

611. Harachandra
Karachi.

1895 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

612. Roy, Hem Chandra
M. A. (English) II, B. L. (1889). Zamindar, Pleader, Calcutta.

1890 Thanks Bradlaugh and British Committee.

1892 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

1896 Extension of Jury trial.

1900 Election to Senate suspended.

1901 Police reform.

613. Roy, G. N.
Calcutta.

1905 India and General Election.

614. Roy, Jagadindranath (Raja)
Natore.

Famous Litterateur. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1893-95.

1896 Congratulation to Queen Victoria on the sixtieth year of her reign.

615. Roy, J. N.

1906 National Education.

1917 Demands Cadet Corps and expresses satisfaction at the admission of Indians to the rank of Officers.

616. Roy, Kaliprasanna (d. 1904)

M.A. in History III 1867, B. L. 1868. Went to Lahore in 1871 to practise as Vakil, Chief Court. Rose to be its leader by 1892. Chairman, Reception Committee 1900, Lahore.

1893 Grant for British Committee.

1899 Welcomes delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee.

1904 Separation of Judiciary from Executive.

"Kaliprasanna was not a scholarly man, but he was an accomplished advocate, brimming over with wit and humour. He was a man of great independence of character and marked dignity of bearing." (Nagendranath Gupta, p. 173).

617. Roy, Muralidhar
Dacca.

1901 Economic question.

1911 Thanks for annulling Partition.

618. Roy, Paresh Chandra

Bhagalpur.

1895 Exchange Compensation allowance.

Roy, Prithwish Chandra
(109) (b. 1870).

Author and Journalist. Calcutta. Editor of the 'Indian World' 1905-1914 and of the 'Bengalee' 1921-1924. He was the Local Secretary of the Calcutta sessions of the Congress in 1906 and 1911. He was also the Secretary of the Bengal Social Reform Association, 1908-1914.

A. I. C. C. 1901, 1910-11, 1916-17.

Roy, Rama Sankar (110)

Secretary, D. C., Cuttack, 1910-11.

619. Roy, Sasanka Jivan, M. A., B. L.

Vakil, Calcutta.

1911 Swadeshi.

1912 Provincial autonomy.

1917 Indentured Labour.

620. Roy, Suresh Chandra,
M. A. 1886.

1901 Mining College to be set up.

621. Ruknuddin

1890 Thanks Bradlaugh.

622. Sao, Sadashiv Ashram

Banker and Malguzar, Nagpur.

1901 Distress of the people and reform needed (in Marathi).

623. Sadholal.

Zamindar and Banker, Varanasi.

1888 Reform of Legislative Council.

624. Sahasrabuddhi, Balwant Sridhar

Pleader, Satna. Municipal Commissioner.

1892 Omnibus resolution.

1894, 1895 Separation of Judiciary.

1898 Local self-government.

625. Sahaya, Bhagatram

Medical Practitioner, Rawalpindi.

1893 Civil Medical Service.

626. Sahaya, Krishna (Rai Bahadur)

Vakil, Lecturer in Law, Patna College. Municipal Commissioner. Member, District Board, Patna. Member, Bihar Legislative Council 1912, 1916. Member, Imperial Legislature 1916. Delegate 1905.

1912 Condemns the Delhi outrage.

A. I. C. C. 1917

Sahaya, Shyam Krishna (111)

Barrister-at-Law, Ranchi.
Chairman, Ranchi Municipality. Member, Bihar Legislative Council 1916.
A. I. C. C. 1917

627. Sajjad Hussain (Munshi).

Zamindar and Editor,
Oudh Punch (Urdu), Lucknow.
Delivered speeches in Urdu.
1888 Police Administration.
1890 Permanent Settlement ;
Contribution to British
Committee.
1899 Famine.

628. Saloman, Erulker

Medical Practitioner,
Rawalpindi.
1902 Medical Services.

629. Samant, J. M.

Sholapur.
1895 Indians in South Africa.

630. Samarth, N. M. (Narayan Mahadeva),

B. A., LL. B.
Vakil, Bombay. Later on
Member, Council of Secretary of State. Joint Secretary,
Bombay Presidency Association,
1914.
1895 Fixity in Land tenure,
Omnibus Resolution.
1896 Permanent Settlement,
Agricultural Banks and
Technical School,

1901 Famine.

1902 Increased burden on India.

1903, 1904 Military expenditure.

1905, 1909 Public Service
question.

1910 Enquiry Commission regarding
expenditure demanded.

1913 Reform of India Council
in London.

1914 Election of President.

A. I. C. C. 1910-11, 1916-17.

Samtami, M. P. (112)

Secretary, District Congress
Committee, Sukkur
1910-1911.

Sane, Ramchandra Moreshwar (113)

Editor, *Dnyan Prakash*,
Poona.

1885 Foundation member.

1887 Member of the Committee
to frame rules of the
Congress.

631. Saullaman, S. B.

Ellore.

1894 Water cess.

632. Sankata Prasad, Munshi

Zamindar, Varanasi.
1910 Local self-government.

633. Sapru, Tej Bahadur (Dr.)

(1875-1949)

Vakil, Allahabad. Editor, *Kashmir Darpan* (1903).

Member, U. P. Legislative Council 1913-16. Member, Imperial Legislature 1915-1920. Law Member, Government of India 1920-23. President of the National Liberal Federation of India 1923 and 1927. Member, A. I. C. C. 1906-17. President, U. P. Political Conference 1916 and of U. P. Social Conference 1913.

1908 Repeal of Regulation III of 1818 demanded.

1909, 1911, 1915 Demands Executive Council for the U. P.

1909 Invites Congress to the U. P.

1910, 1912 Legislative Council reform.

1911 Thanks for creating the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

1916 Self-government for India.

H. R. 1945 Dec.—S. Sinha's paper on Sapru, pp. 225-32.

H. R. Feb. 1949, pp. 134-35.

H. R. Feb. 1949—a paper by Srinivasa Sastri, pp. 105-109.

634. Sapurji, Sorabji

South Africa.

1911 Indians in Colonies.

635. Saran, Govinda Sahai

Del. No. 654

1908 Army Service.

636. Saran, Ishwar (1874-1947)

Vakil, Allahabad.

1906 Constitution for the Congress.

"There is no provision for the Native States being represented in the Subjects Committee".

1908 Swadeshi.

1909 Indians in South Africa.

A. I. C. C. 1910-11, 1916-17.

H. R. January, 1947, p. 59.

637. Saraswati, Prannath

Vakil and Zamindar, Calcutta.

1890 Congress session in England.

1891 Sub-committee to consider whether the session of the Congress should be held every year. Simultaneous examination.

638. Sarbadhikari, Deva Prasad
(1862-1935)

M. A. in English II 1883,
B. L. 1884 Articled clerk of
an Attorney 1890. Attorney-
at-Law. Later on Member,
Bengal Legislative Council
(1912). Vice-Chancellor, Cal-
cutta University (1916).

Delegate 1886.

1890 Reduction of Salt Duty.

1912 Public Services Commis-
sion.

H.R. 1935 Sept., pp. 214-15.

639. Sarbadhikari, Srish Chandra

M. D. 1891 Calcutta.

1904 Police Reform.

640. Sarkar, Nilratan (b. 1861)

Brahmo. Hons. in Mid-
wifery 1888, M. A. II in
Physiology 1889. M. D.
1890.

1895 Medical Service.

1896 Civil Medical Service.

1898 Military Service.

1899 Military Medical Service.

1901 Medical Service.

1905, 1908 Education.

1912, 1913 Public Service
Commission.

1916 Patna University Bill

The Congress Report 1886
describes him wrongly as a Brah-
mana, a misprint for Brahmo.

A.I.C.C. 1910-11, 1916-17.

641. Sarkar, Rajanikanta.

Pleader, Landholder.
Municipal Commissioner,
Purulia.

1896 Repeal of the Inland
Immigration Act.

1901 Police reform.

Sarkar, Rajkumar (114)

Father of Sir Jadunath
Sarkar. Member, District Board,
Rajsaahi.

Delegate 1886.

642. Sarma, Bijay Narasimheswar
(1867-1932) B. A., B. L. (Rai
Bahadur).

Pleader. Municipal Com-
missioner, Vizagapatam. Secre-
tary, Madras Mahajana Sabha
1916-17. Member, Madras
Legislative Council 1914, 1916.
Member of the Deputation to
England, 1914. Member, Exe-
cutive Council of the Viceroy
1920-25.

1887 Separation of Judiciary.

1896 Gagging the Press in
Native States under
British administration.

1905 Indians in British
Colonies.

1906 Retrenchment in military
expenditure.

1910 Post of Law Member
should be open to Advoca-
tes also.

- 1916 Self-Government for India
A. I. C. C. 1916-17.
H. R. 1932, Oct.-Dec.,
p. 193.
- 643. Sarma, Govind Sahai, B.A.**
Barrister-at-Law, Agra.
1909 High prices and Enquiry
Commission.
1911 Military Service.
- 644. Sarma, Jwalanath**
Pleader, Small Causes
Court, Calcutta. Secretary,
Bharat Matri Mandal; rep.
Barabazar Political Association
1886 Poverty in India; Verdict
of Jury.
- 645. Sasmal, Birendranath (1882-1934)**
Advocate, Contai, Midna-
pore.
1911 Police Reform.
H. R. 1934, pp. 441-42.
- 646. Sastri, Gyaneshwar**
Lucknow.
1899 Cost of British forces in
India (spoke in Urdu).
1900 Agricultural Banks.
- 647. Sastri, V.S. Srinivasa (b 1869.)**
President, Servants of
India Society. Fellow,
Madras University for a
long time. Member,
Imperial Legislature,
- 1916, Member, Privy
Council 1921.
1915 Demands abolition of
Indentured Labour.
H. R. 1922, pp. 537-46.
H. R. 1948 January, p. 11.
- 648. Sastri, Subramania**
Attorney, Madras.
1887 Income tax.
- 649. Sastri, C. V. Sundaram**
Vakil, Madras City.
1887 Repeal of the Arms Act.
- 650. Sathe, Achyut Sitaram**
Professor, Poona
1897 Extension of the scope of
Famine Commission.
Sathe, Shivaram Hari (115)
Secretary, Poona Sarva-
janik Sabha.
1885 Foundation member.
- 651. Satyamurti.**
One of the most eloquent
orators of Madras.
1917 Demands release of Ali
Brothers.
- 652. Sayani, M. Rahimtullah (1847-1902).**
Solicitor, Bombay. Mem-
ber, Bombay Corporation 1876
and its President 1888. Presi-
dent of the Congress 1896.

Fellow and Syndic, Bombay University. Secretary of Anjuman-i-Islam. Member, Bombay Legislative Council 1888 and of Imperial Legislative Council 1896.

1885 India Council.

1886 Felicitation ; Poverty of India.

653. **Seal, Brajendranath** (later on Dr.) (1864-1938)

M. A. I Phil. 1884. Principal, Krishnath College, Berhampore 1887-95. The great philosopher and eminent Doyen of Calcutta and Mysore Universities.

1892 Grant for higher education.

He held up the model of the States of Baroda and Mysore in educational policy. He deplored that in Bengal three Colleges had already been transferred to private management. In the Krishnagore and Rajsahi Colleges Europeans belonging to the Subordinate Education Service were appointed Principals.

M. R. 1958 January, pp. 24, 54.

654. **Sen, Atul Prasad** (1872-1934)

Joined as Barrister, Calcutta, 2nd December, 1895. Practised in Lucknow. Famous composer in Bengali.

1914 Arms Act.

A. I. C. C. 1910-11.

H. R. Sept. 1934, p. 220.

655. **Sen, Balkunthanath** (Rai Bahadur)

B. L. 1864. Pleader, Berhampore (Murshidabad). Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1910.

1888 Income tax.

1839, 1890, 1894 Permanent Settlement.

1892 Jury trial ; Distress of people and cost of administration.

1893 Legislative Council Reform.

1894 Land question.

1895 Welby Commission.

1897 Contribution to cost of Frontier War.

1898 Technical education.

1899 Cost of British forces in India.

1902 Increased burden on India.

1904, 1905 Partition of Bengal.

1906 Validity of Wakf-i-ala-awlad.

1911 Repeal of Seditious Meetings Act demanded; Press Act; Regulation re: Deportation etc.

1912 Public Service Commission.

1913 Election of President ; Public Service Commission ; Regrets retirement of Wacha and Khare.

1917 Chairman, Reception Committee. Welcomes delegates ; moves a vote of thanks at the conclusion of the session.

656. Sen, Guruprasad (1842-1900)

M. A. 1864 ; B. L. 1865. Enrolled as Pleader, 29 April 1865, Patna. Editor, *Behar Herald*. President, People's Association. Secretary, Behar Landholders' Association. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1896-97.

1886 Poverty of India.

1887 Congress Constitution ; Income tax.

1891 Congress in England.

1892 Jury trial

657. Sen, Indubhusan (d. 1933)

M. A. 1890; B. L. 1899. Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta. Editor of the *Bengali* 1925-27.

1915 Press Act.

1916 Defence of India Act and Deportation.

He took a leading part in electing Mrs. Annie Besant as President of the Congress in 1917.

H. R. January 1933, p. 90.

Sen, Jaladhar (1860-1939) (116)

Landholder, Goalando. Litterateur and Journalist. Editor of *Bharatavarsha* (M).

Delegate No. 317 in 1886.

658. Sen, Jatindranath

Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, Member, District Board, Jessore. 1896 Reorganisation of Education Service.

Sen, Jatramohan (117)

Landlord and lawyer, Chittagong

A. I. C. C. 1910-11.

659. Sen, Jatindranath

Kaviraj.

1911 Sanitation.

660. Sen, Kailash Chandra

B. L. 1883 ; Pleader, Barisal. Landholder, Faridpur and Dacca.

1886 Verdict of the Jury to be accepted as final.

1888 Police administration.

1896 Drain and Poverty.

661. Sen, Narendranath (b. 1843)

Solicitor ; Editor, *Indian Mirror*, Calcutta. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1897-99. In 1911 he had agreed to edit a paper subsidised to the extent of Rs. 65,000 per year and to support Government policies. Surendranath states in his autobiography that Narendranath thoroughly discredited himself by this act and died a disappointed and disillusioned man.

1885 Enquiry into condition of India.

1887 Military Service.

1890 Thanks Bradlaugh and British Committee; Congress session in London.

662. Sen, Naresh Chandra

(d. 1964)

M. A. Phil. I 1902 ; Lawyer, Calcutta. Bengali litterateur and jurist.

1905 Education

A. I. C. C 1910-11.

Sen, Ramdas (Dr.) (1845-1887) (118)

Zamindar, Berhampore; Indologist and litterateur.

Delegate 1886.

663. Senadhya, Totaram

Fiji

1914 Prohibition of Indentured Labour.

664. Senathi, Raja E. S. W.

Barrister-at-Law, Madras.

1909 Army Service.

1914 Army Service.

665. Senkaram, S. B.

1889 Scheme of representation.

666. Seshachari, V. C.

Madras

1917 Against the vesting of additional powers in the Executive and punishing people without trial.

Setalvad C. H. (See Sitalvad)

667. Seth, Ram Narayan Amarchand

Merchant, Poona.

1896 Omnibus resolution (in Hindi).

668. Seth, Sitaram

Sitapur

1899 Opposed Gold Standard in India (spoke in Urdu).

669. Sethna, A. K.

Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.

1902 Employment of Indians in Public Services.

670. Shamshoodowla (Nawab)

Wasikdar, Lucknow.
1890 President's election.

671. Sharf-ud-din (Syed Md.)

Born at Neora, Patna District on the 10th September, 1856. His father was a pleader at Chapra.

Barrister-at-Law and Zamindar, Patna. Joined Bar at Patna, Nov. 1880. Vice-Chairman, Patna District Board for three terms. Member, Bengal Legislative Council. 1905 Judge, Calcutta High Court. Member, Executive Council, B. & O. Retired in 1918. Maternal Uncle of Sir Ali Imam and Hasan Imam. Presided at an Arrah meeting for electing delegates to the Congress in 1886.

1886, 1888 Reform of Legislative Council.

1890 Reform of Legislative Council; Congress session in London.

He was one of the members of the Deputation which waited on Lord Minto in 1906 and took a leading part in drafting the Memorial. He was a supporter of the Aligarh College. He was the President of the Mahomedan Educational Conference held at Dacca in 1906.

672. Shastriar, C. V. Kumarswami,

Vakil, Madras.

1896 Separation of Judiciary.

Shastri, Shivnath (1847-1919)
(119)

Famous Brahmo leader, social reformer and litterateur.
Delegate 1886.

673. Sheikh Fiaz Ali

1916 Press Act

674. Sheikh Hussain.

Public Lecturer, Junnar, Poona.

1888 Permanent Settlement.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

1891 Salt tax and Income tax.

1892 Omnibus resolution.

1895 Military expenditure.

675. Sheikh Husen V. Sheikh

1895 Omnibus resolution.

676. Sheikh Ibrahim

1917 Indians in Colonies
(Spoke in Hindi).

677. Sheikh Oomar Buksh

Pleader, Hoshiarpur.

1888 Omnibus resolution.

1893 Legislative Council for the Punjab.

678. Sheikh Raza Husseln Khan

Ellakdar, Lucknow.

- Municipal Commissioner. President, Refa-i-am.
1888 President's election ; Permanent Settlement.
- 679. Sheikh Shurf-ud-din**
Editor, *Moshiri* (Hindi), Ludhiana.
1888 Separation of Judiciary.
- 680. Sherarji, Ismail Khan**
Calcutta.
1906 National Education (Spoke in Bengalee)
Sherwani, Haroon K. (120)
B. A. ; Zamindar; Barrister-at-law.
Delegate 1916.
- 681. Shiva Narayan**
Pleader, Jalandhar.
1888 Educational grant.
- 682. Shiva Prasad (Raja) (1823-95).**
Inspector of Schools, N. W. Provinces. Member, Imperial Legislature. Raja in 1874 ; hereditary Raja 1887.
1888 Reform of Legislature (opposed to).
Nagendranath Gupta writes (pp. 118-119) that Raja Shiva Prasad went to the Allahabad Congress with the deliberate intention of wrecking it. "Had he been hustled or pushed about, the police would have been called in and the Congress broken up."
- 683. Shohrat Nasir Ali**
Journalist, Lahore.
1890 Bradlaugh Bill (in Urdu)
- 684. Sokrat Mir Nisar Ali**
1893 Permanent Settlement.
- 685. Sekra, Nand Singh (Sardar)**
1913 Indians in Australia.
- 686. Simeon**
Allahabad.
1905 Public Service question.
- 687. Sieve Wright, Charles F.**
Commissioner of British and Empire League of Australia, Melbourne.
1903 Indians in South Africa.
Singh, Ajit — revolutionary leader.
Delegate to the Congress session in Calcutta 1906.
- 688. Singh, Bansilal (d. 1908)**
Lucknow.
1899 Chairman, Reception Committee.
The address was read out by Bishun Narayan Dar.
- 689. Singh, Bawa Narayan**
Pleader, Amritsar.
1890 Permanent Settlement.
- 690. Singh, Bhind Charan**
Pleader, Ferozepur.
1893 Separation of Judiciary

Singh, Bisheshwar (121)

Lawyer, Patna. Zamindar, Kulharia (Shahabad). Founded the Bihar National College, Patna in 1889 along with his brother Shaligram Singh.

Delegate No. 201 in 1886.

Singh, Ganesh Dutta (122)

Lawyer, Patna. Later on Minister of Bihar and Orissa Govt.

Delegate, 1912.

691. Singh, Gopal Saran

Kumar of Tikari, Gaya. Member, Imperial Legislature 1912.

1912 Election of President.

692. Singh, Guru Charan

Barrister, Lahore.

1893 Permanent Settlement.

1900 Military Service

1905 Election of President.

693. Singh, Gurmukh (Sardar)

Lahore.

1909 Army Service

694. Singh, Lachhman (Raja)

Zamindar and retired Deputy Collector, Agra.

1888 Military College; Volunteering; repeal of the Arms Act.

695. Singh, Madho

Bihar.

1917 Indian Army and military training to Indians through Cadet Corps.

696. Singh, Rajendra

Punjab.

1900 Military service (spoke in Urdu).

Singh, Rai Rajeshwari Prasad (123)

Zamindar, Surajpura (Shahabad)

Delegate No. 274 of 1886

697. Singh, Rampal (Raja) (d.1937)

Talookdar, Kalakankar, Partabgarh (Oudh)

Member of the U. P. Legislative Council (1910-16). Member of the Imperial Legislature 1916-20; of the Council of State 1921-34; Secretary, Congress Reception Committee 1888.

1886 Indians should be allowed to join army as volunteers; Poverty in India; expansion of Legislative Council; Felicitations to Queen Victoria.

1887 Election of President; expansion of Legislature; Military service; Volunteering.

1888 Reform of Legislative Council; Omnibus Resolution; Military training

and repeal of the Arms Act; Permanent Settlement.

1892 Reform of Legislative Council.

1893 Thanks House of Commons for the Resolution re. simultaneous examination; Supports stoppage of silver coinage against the motion of Wacha

1894 Election of President; Simultaneous examination.

1896 Satisfaction at Wacha's delegation in England.

G. Parameshwaram Pillai writes (p. 51): "Short and well-made, he moves about with an enormous stick in his hand. When he speaks, he stammers but his stammering and stuttering has not prevented him from making some vigorous speeches."

H. R. May 1937, p. 773.

M.R. 1911 Feb., p. 215 Photo.

698. Singh, Ranjit (Dr.)

Medical Practitioner, Allahabad.

1909 Public Service

1910 Medical Service

1912 Public Services Commission

1916 Arms Act

A. I. C. C. 1917.

699. Singh, Saligram (1852-1905)

Enrolled as Vakil, Calcutta High Court, 7 April 1877. Zamindar, Kulharia (Shahabad). Founder of the Bihar National College, Patna. Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1897-99. Delegate No. 235 of 1886.

1887 Military Service for Indians.

1890 Congress session in London.

A. I. C. C. 1901.

700. Singh, Sultan

1917 Invites Congress to Delhi.

701. Singh, Sheoratan

Landholder, merchant, Akola:

1897 Improvement in the method of Legislation for Berar:

Singh, Vikramjit, B. A., LL. B. (124).

Vakil, Cawnpore.

A.I.C. C. 1917.

702. Sinha, Arikrishna (May be same as Sinha, Harikrishna)

Pleader, Muzaffarpur.

1912 Local Self-government,

1916 India and the Colonies.

1917 Against the vesting of additional powers in the hands of the Executive (spoke in Hindi).

703. Sinha, Dip Narain (1875-1935)

Barrister-at-Law; Zamindar, Bhagalpur. Municipal Commissioner. Son of Tej Narayan Sinha. Married to the daughter of Sir Tarak Nath Palit. Educated in England 1891-97. President of Bengal Provincial Conference, Berhampore. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1910.

1908 Swadeshi.

1909 Indians in South Africa.

Became a follower of Mahatma Gandhi in 1920. Dr. S. Sinha describes him as one of the three best-dressed men in India, the other two being Gandhi and Jinnah.

A. I. C. C. 1910-11, 1916-17.

H. R. 1935, pp. 425-26.

704. Sinha, Hari Krishna (May be same as Sinha, Arikrishna)

1914 Loyalty to the throne.

705. Sinha, Lakshmi Narayan

1914 Rejoices at the partial settlement of the South African question.

Sinha, Nageshwar Prasad (125)

Secretary, District Congress Committee, Midnapore 1910-11.

706. Sinha, Purnendu Narayan

M. A. in Natural and Physical Science I 1881; B. L. 1882 Patna College. Vakil, Patna. A great organiser and theosophist.

Delegate 1886.

1891 Reforms in Police and Judicial administration.

707. Sinha, Sachchidananda (1871-1950)

Barrister-at-Law; Member, Imperial Legislature 1910, 1919. Later on, Executive Councillor, B. & O. 1921-26. President, Bihar Provincial Conference, Bhagalpur 1909. Secretary, Reception Committee 1912 Congress. Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, 1936-1944. Editor, *Hindustan Review*. Attended the Congress as a visitor 1888. Intimately associated with Congress 1896-1919. For many years he was Secretary, Bihar Prov. Congress Committee, and later on its President.

1896 Delegate Calcutta session.

1899, 1900 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

1901, 1902 Police administration.

1904 Delegation to England; Election to Parliament.

1905 Police reform; Partition of Bengal.

1908 Repeal of Repressive Acts

1910 Advocates and Vakills to be eligible for Law Membership.

1911 Executive Council for U. P.

1912 India Council Reform; Condemns Delhi Outrage

1914 Chosen as a Delegate to England.

1916 Patna University Bill.

H. R. 1947, p. 506 " My association with Indian Freedom Movement" an important article by Dr. S. Sinha. H.R. April 1950, pp. 181-276,

708. Sinha, Satyendra Prasanna (Sir, then Lord) (1864-1928)

Went to England 1881. Joined Bar 18th Nov. 1886. Appointed in 1903 Standing Council to the Government of India and Advocate General of Bengal 1905-1909. Law Member 1909-1910. Under-Secretary of State; Governor of Bihar and Orissa 1920-1921. Lala Lajpat Rai records that in accepting the post of Law Member he sacrificed a practice

which yielded him an income of Rupees two lacs a year. (India's Will To Freedom, p. 13)

Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal 1917-1919; created Baron in 1919; Under-Secretary of State of India 1919-20.

Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council 1916-1928.

1896 Protest against deposition of Indian Princes.

Ref. Hindustan Review 1909, pp. 505-514. Ibid. A Tribute by Srinivasa Sastri 1928, pp. 236-246.

Lord Minto said in the United Service Club at Simla in 1910 : "Mr. Sinha is the first Indian colleague of the Viceroy. It is quite unnecessary for me to remind you of the great position his distinguished and exceptional abilities had obtained for him at the Calcutta bar and, gentlemen, I can not let this opportunity pass without bearing testimony to the able assistance he has rendered to the Government of India and thanking him for the absolute fairness and broad-minded patriotism, which has always characterised

the advice I have so often sought from him".

As Sinha could not agree to the policy of repression and suppression advocated by his European colleagues in the Executive Council of the Governor-General he resigned after a year. This endeared him to his countrymen and he was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1915.

709. Sinha, Srikrishna (1887-1961)

Chief Minister of Bihar (1937-39; 1946-1961).

1916 Condition of the cultivators in the Indigo cultivation areas in Champaran (spoke in Hindi). His name, however, does not occur in the list of delegates.

710. Sinha, Tejnarayan

Zamindar, Bhagalpur.
Founder of the T. N. Jubilee College, Bhagalpur.

Delegate No. 227 in 1886.

1888 Enquiry into Industrial condition and Technical education.

711. Sircar, Iswarilal

Vakil and Zamindar Serampore.

1887 Military service.

712. Setalvad, Chimanlal Harilal (Dr. Sir) (1866-1947).

Eldest son of Motilal Setalvad, Advocate General. Graduated in 1906, LL. B.; Lawyer, Bombay. Member, Bombay Legislative Council 1894-96, 1908; Imperial Legislative Council, 1915; Fellow and Syndic, Bombay University, 1908. Member, Executive Council, Bombay 1921-1923. Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University 1917 and re-appointed five times. Joined Congress in 1889.

1894 Jury trial.

1895, 1897 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

1897, 1915, 1916 Election of President.

1897 Thanks the Reception Committee.

1905 Administration of Justice.

1916 War and man power in India.

A. I. C. C. 1901, 1911, 1917.

H. R. January 1948, p. 65.

713. Sita Ram

1886 Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

714. Sitaramayya, Pattabhi B.

(Dr.) Medical Practitioner.
1915 Swadeshi Movement.
A. I. C. C. 1917.

715. Smedley

1901 Cost of British troops.

716. Sodhi, Pratap Singh

Lahore.
1890 Modification of Rules of
House of Commons ;
Congress session in London

717. Sri Ram

Member, Supreme Legis-
lative Council 1902-1905.
Public Prosecutor, Lucknow.
Commissioner of Municipality
1886 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

718. Stephenta, W. W. (Rev.)

Missionary, Madras.
1894 Forest management.

719. Subba Rao, N. (Pantulu)

(1855-1940), B. L.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Municipal Commissioner. Sec-
retary of the Congress 1914.
Member, Legislature 1910.
Chairman, Reception Com-
mittee, Madras. 1898
1888 Omnibus resolution.
1891 Simultaneous examination.
1893 Separation of Judiciary.
1805 Law Touts.

1897 Additional Executive
Councillors should be
appointed from amongst
Indians; Invites next
Congress to Madras.

1898 Welcome Address.

1903 Partition of Bengal.

1910, 1912 Election of Presi-
dent.

1911 Land Settlement.

1912 Condemns Delhi Outrage;
Public Services Commis-
sion.

1914 Thanks the Deputation
which went to England.

A. I. C. C. 1910-11.

H. R. 1941 January,
pp. 393-94.

720. Subba Rao, R. Venkata

Madras.

1894 Simultaneous examina-
tion.

721. Subba Royadu, S. Venkata

Vakil, Masulipatam.

1885 Enquiry into the condi-
tion of India; India Coun-
cil; Legislative Council.

1886 Jury trial.

722. Subramania, N. (Christian)

Barrister, Madras Muni-
cipal Commissioner. Repre-
sentative, Madras Mahajana
Sabha.

1888 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.

1889 Reform of Legislature.

723. Sukla, Devi Prasad, B. A.

Professor, Christ Church
College, Cawnpore.

1910 Education ; Indians in
Colonies.

724. Sukla, Rajkumar

Champaran.

1916 Condition of peasants in
Champaran Indigo-plan-
ting areas (spoke in
Hindi).

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
writes in his Autobiography
that Rajkumar knew only
Hindi.

Sukla, Ravi Shankar, B. A.,
LL. B. (126).

Pleader, Raipur. Later on
Chief Minister, C. P.

Delegate 1915.

725. Sukul, Kali Shankar

M. A. History II 1879.

Professor, City College.

1886 Verdict of the Jury to be
accepted as final.

726. Sundar Lal (Dr. Sir)

Chairman, Reception
Committee, Allahabad.

1905 Vote of thanks to Presi-
dent.

1910 Welcome Address.

1916 Education.

727. Sunderland, G. T. (Rev.)

Unitarian, Lucknow.
Editor, *Unitarian*.

1895 Education.

728. Suri, Dharamdas

1908 Partition of Bengal.

1909 Punjab Regulations.

729. Swami Ram Ram Sanyasi

Calcutta.

1895 Omnibus resolution.

730. Syed Abdul Aziz

Pleader, Nagpur. Secre-
tary, Local Board.

1886 Reform of Legislative
Council.

1887 Separation of Executive
from Judiciary (spoke in
Hindusthani).

1891 Gratitude to Bradlaugh
(Urdu speech).

731. Syed Ali Usat

Lucknow.

1899 Omnibus Resolution
(spoke in Urdu).

732. Syed Md. Ismail

Zamindar, Patna.

1912 Condemns outrage on
Lord Hardinge.

733. Syed Mir-ud-din Ahmad Balkhi

1889 Reform of Legislative
Council.

734. Syed Muhammad Bahadur (Nawab) (1869-1916) Madras.

Son of Humayun Jah Bahadur and grandson of the Dewan of Nawab Safdar Ali Khan. Secretary, Reception Committee 1903. His family was closely related to Hyder Ali, Sultan of Mysore.

President of the Congress 1913. President of the Provincial Congress Committee, Madras 1910-11. Secretary of Congress 1915 along with N. Subba Rao. Member, Madras Legislative Council 1901. Member, Imperial Legislature 1903, again 1908, 1910.

1898 Welcomes Lord Curzon to India.

1906, 1908, 1911, 1914 Election of President.

Henry W. Nevins writes of him : "Calm, modest and generally silent but for a few definite words thrown into a discussion, he seemed an ideal member for any Council." (*The New Spirit in India* pp. 104-105).

His father, the Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur was a son of Shahzadi Shah-rukh Begum, daughter of

Prince Sultan Yaseen, fourth son of Tipu Sultan.

Tagore, Abanindranath (1871-1951) (127)

Delegate No. 43 of 1901.

Tagore, Gaganendranath (128)
Delegate No. 42. 1901

Tagore, Jotindramohan (129)

b. 1831, was a student of Dr Richardson. Member, Bengal Legislative Council 1870-74. Member, Imperial Legislative Council 1877. President, Bengal National League.

Delegate 1886.

735. Tagore, Jyotirindranath (1849-1925), fifth son of Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore. He has translated many books from the Sanskrit, French and Marathi literature. Zamindar, Calcutta.

1887 Resolutions to be sent to Viceroy.

1895 Invites Congress to Calcutta.

Tagore, Kshitindranath (130)
b. 1869. Secretary, Howrah Municipality.

Zamindar, 6, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta.

1892 Member, Subjects Committee.

Author of "Arya Ramanir Siksha O Swadhinata" and "Adhyatma Dharma O Agneyabad."

Tagore, Rabindranath
(1861-1941) (131)

The great poet.

Delegate No. 45 in 1901.

Sang the Vande Mataram in 1896, Jana-gana-mana in 1911. Recited two poems in 1917.

Tagore, Satyendranath
(1842-1923) (132)

I. C. S. (Retd.)

Nagendranath Gupta writes in his *Reflections and Reminiscences* that Satyendranath was present in the first Congress as a visitor (p. 122).

Delegate 1905, 1906, 1911

Tagore, Samarendranath
(133).

Delegate 1901.

Tagore, Sudhindranath (134).
(1869-1929).

Fourth son of Dwijendra Nath Tagore. He was editor of the *Sadhana* from 1891 to 1894.

Delegate No. 44 in 1901.

Tagore, Surendranath (135).
(1872-1940)

Son of Satyendranath Tagore. He took a prominent part in the revolutionary movement at its early stage. He was an expert in Banking and Insurance and took a leading part in organising the Hindustan Assurance Co.

Delegate No. 41 in 1901.

Tarachand (136)

Professor, Allahabad. Famous historian.

Delegate No. 67 of 1916.

Taraporewala, T. J. S.,
B. A. Ph. D: (137)

Barrister-at-Law; Head Master, Central Hindu Collegiate School, Benares City.
Delegate 1915, 1916.

736. Tarini Prasad

Pleader, Bhagalpur. Member, District Board and Municipal Commissioner.

1888 Separation of Judiciary.

737. Telang, K. T. (1850-93)

Graduated in 1867 from the Elphinstone College, Fellow of the Elphinstone College 1867-1872. Vakil, Bombay. Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association. Judge, Bombay High Court 1889. Vice-Chancellor,

Bombay University 1892. He was a great Indologist and a prominent social reformer but he did not believe that Social reform must precede Political reform.

1885 President's election; Customs Duties; Enquiry into the condition of India; Vote of thanks; Reform of Legislative Council.

1888 Reform of Legislature; Educational expenses; Permanent Settlement; Simultaneous examination; Military College and repeal of the Arms Act; Invites Congress to Bombay.

738. Tewari, Kashiram

1917 Press Act of 1910 (spoke in Hindi).

739. Thackersay, Vitthal Das Damodar

Merchant, Bombay.

1902 Currency legislation.

1914 Invites the Congress to Bombay.

740 Thakore, D. P.

Surat and South Africa

1902 Indians in South Africa.

741. Thakur Prasad

Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Agra College.

1886 Expansion of the Council of Secretary of State

742. Tilak, Bal Gangadhar (1856-1920)

B. A. 1876. LL. B. 1879. Professor, Fergusson College, 1885-90. Famous editor and Nationalist leader. Imprisoned for sedition 1897-98 and 1908-14.

1889 Reform of Legislative Council.

1891 Arms Act to be modified
1893 Permanent Settlement.

1895 Medical service; fixity of land tenure.

1896 Provincial contracts.

1900 Enquiry into economic condition.

1901 Education.

1904 Delegation to England.

1905 Famine; Economic enquiry and land tenure.

1906 Swadeshi.

1916 Self-Government for India.

1917 Demands release of Ali Brothers; demands immediate implementation of the Congress League scheme of Reforms.

Nevinson writes: "His full, brown eyes are singularly brilliant, steady with daring, rather aggressive. But his general manner is very quiet and controlled, and both in conversation and public speaking he talks in brief, assured sentences, quite free from rhetoric, outwardly passionless even in moments of the highest passion, and seldom going beyond the statement of facts, or rather of his aspect of facts at the time. His apparent calmness and self-command may arise partly from courageous indifference to his own future, partly from prolonged legal practice at his own trials"

(*The New Spirit of India*, p. 66)

743. Tiwari, Kable Ram

1917 Press Act

744. Tiwari, V. N.

1915 Demands abolition of Indentured Labour.

1916 Indians in Colonies.

745. Tripathi, Govardhanram M.

(1855-1907)

Nadiad

Advocate, Bombay High Court. A great litterateur in Gujarati.

1902 Education.

M. R. 1907, pp. 251-53.

746. Trivedi, Uttamlal

Vakil, Bombay.

1908 Education

747. Tulsi Ram

Madras

1894 Public education.

1895 Education.

Tyabji, Abbas S. (138).

Barrister, Baroda.

A. I. C. C. 1912, 1916.

748. Tyabji, Badruddin (1844-1909)

Joined Bar 1867. President of the Congress 1887.

President, Mahommedan Education Conference 1903. Secretary, Anjuman-i-Islam 1880. Member, Bombay Legislative Council 1882. Judge, Bombay High Court 1895.

749. Tyabji, Hussain Badruddin

Bombay.

1904 Indians in Public Service.

750. Uma Shankar

Barrister, Amritsar.

1892 Reform of Legislative Council.

751. Upadhyaya, A.D.

Kolhapur.

1895 Salt tax.

Upadhyaya, Brahma Bandhab
(1861-1907). (139)

(Bhawani Charan Banerjee)

Editor, *Sandhya*, a revolutionary paper.

Delegate No. 116, 1906

His father was an Inspector of Police. One of his uncles was Kali Charan Bannerjee, a renowned Advocate and Congressman. At the age of seventeen he ran away from College to "learn the art of fighting and drive out the English" (quoted in B. Animananda, *The Blade*, p. 14). He tried to get himself enlisted in the Maharaja of Gwalior's army, but as there was a Government ban against recruitment of Bengalees, he was refused.

He became a Brahmo in 1887 and a Protestant Christian in 1891. After a few months, he became a Roman Catholic.

In 1901 he joined the Shantiniketan as a teacher. In 1902 he went to Rome and England and lectured in Oxford and Cambridge. He came back to India as a Hindu zealot. In 1905 he published the *Sandhya*, a revolutionary paper in Bengali. He wrote

in it: "I see the fort of Swaraj built in various places. There shall be no connection with the foreigner. These forts will be purified by the incense of sacrifice, resounding with the cry of victory." Again in 1907 he wrote: "Arm brothers! arm! The day of deliverance is near. We have heard the voice and we can not fail to see the chains of India removed before we die. It is now too late to recede."

752. Upasani, S. B.

B. A., LL. B., ; Retd.
First Class Sub-Judge, Dhulia.
Member, Bombay Legislature
1914.

1914 Loyalty to the throne.

753. Vaidya, Chintaman Vinayak
Bombay.

1906 National education.

754. Vaidya, V.P.

Bombay.

1904 Supports election of some candidates to Parliament

Vakil, Bhaidas Gokuldas
(140)

Municipal Commissioner,
Pleader, Surat.

1885 Foundation member.

755. Vakil, K. H.

1915 Swadeshi Movement.

756. Vandravandas, Jagmohandas

Bombay.

1894 Invites Congress to Poona

757. Varadachari, Srinivas N

Madras.

1903 Land Assessment.

758. Varma, Ganga Prasad (1863-1914).

Lucknow. Proprietor, *Hindusthani*; Editor, *Advocate*. Member, U. P. Legislature 1909. Joined Congress at the age of twenty-two.

1885 Foundation member (at the age of 22).

1895 Vote of thanks.

1898 Invites Congress to U.P.

1909 Demands modifications in the Regulations under 1909 Act.

Chintamani writes of him: "essentially a remarkable example of a self-made man who, by sheer moral qualities made himself one of the most conspicuous figures in public life. No one knew him without respecting him."

The Modern Review (1914 July) wrote: "He had not had much school education, but nevertheless by dint of hard

work he came to occupy a most distinguished position in the public life of his province. He did good work in the fields of education, sanitation, politics, social reform and industrial revival. His native town of Lucknow, of which he was Vice-Chairman of municipality, owes to him a fine park, a free library and reading room, and many other improvements. He attended every session of the Indian National Congress, the first when he was only 22 and would undoubtedly have become its President had he lived longer."

759. Varma, Krishna Bahadur

Lucknow.

1899 Omnibus resolution.

1900 Military service.

1901 Cadet Corps for Princes

760. Varma, Sheoratan Singh

Landholder, merchant, Akola.

1897 Legislation in Berar (spoke in *Hindusthani*).

761. Venkatappiah, M. P.

Madras

1906 National Education

Venkataramiah, B. L. (141)

Berhampore (Ganjam)

A. I. C. C. 1910-11

762. Venkataratnam

Ganjam. Vakil, Cocanada.
1894 Water Cess
1895 Fixity of land tenure.
1898 Permanent Settlement
1901 Poverty.

763. Vidwans, B. V.

1909 Alienation of Land.

764. Vinayak, Devrao

Pleader, Akola (Berar).
1888 Separation of Judiciary
1890 Permanent Settlement.
1892 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.
1895 Simultaneous Examination.
A. I. C. C. 1901

765. Vishindas, Harchandra

B. A., LL. B.

Pleader, Karachi. Municipal Commissioner and member, Taluk Board. Chairman, Karachi Municipality
1912. Member, Imperial Legislature 1910, 1912. Chairman, Reception Committee, 1913, Karachi.

1888 Police Administration
1904 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.
1906 Education
1908 Partition of Bengal.
1909 Regulations under 1909
Act should be changed.

1910 Council Regulations.

1912 Indians in Colonies.

1913 Welcome Address; Regrets retirement of Wacha and Khare.

1915 Election of President.

A. I. C. C. 1910, 1917.

Nagendranath Gupta says: "He was a jolly good fellow, a loyal friend and an excellent comrade. His early success at Bar was a clear indication of his ability as a lawyer."

766. Vithal, Lakshman

Gulbarga.

1895 Indians in South Africa

Vithal, Shamrao, (142)

Vakil, Bombay.

1885 Foundation member.

Wacha, B. Jehangir (143)

Merchant, Bombay.

1885 Foundation member

767. Wacha, Dinshaw Edulji (Sir)
(1844-1936)

Managing Agent of Morarji Gokuldas and Sholapur Mills. Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association 1885-1915 ; its President 1915-1918. Joint Secretary, Congress 1896-1907 and Secretary

1908-1913. President, Congress 1901, Member, Bombay Corporation for thirty-one years. President, Bombay Corporation 1901-1902. Editor of the English Column of *Kaisar-e-Hind*. Member, Bombay Legislature 1915-16. Member, Imperial Legislature 1916-20.

1885 Military expenditure ; Enquiry Commission for India.

1886 Poverty of India.

1888, 1889, 1890 Abkari Policy.

1890 Salt tax; Permanent Fund of Congress.

1891, 1892, 1894, 1895 Distress of people in India.

1892 Election of President ; Currency question; Military expenditure.

1893 State regulated immorality ; Silver coinage ; Exchange Compensation allowance.

1894, 1895 Cotton Excise Duty

1894 Military and Civil expenditure.

1895 Military expenditure ; Cotton Duty.

1897 Frontier Policy.

1898 Indian currency.

1899 Election of President ; Opposes Gold Standard

1900 Deputation to Viceroy.

1902 Excise Duty.

1903 Employment of Indians.

1904 Thanks British Committee
1908 Election of President.

1909 High prices and Enquiry Commission.

1910 Election of President.

1911 Thanks for annulling partition ; Reduction of public expenditure.

1912 Condemns Delhi Outrage (speaks twice).

1913 Welcomes Muslim League Resolution regarding Self-Government ; Replies to regret at his retirement from Secretaryship of the Congress.

H. R. March 1936, pp. 630-632.

768. Wadia, B. P.

1917 Implementation of Congress-League scheme of Reforms.

769. Wadia, Hormasji A.

Barrister, Rajkot, Bombay

1889 Vote of thanks.

1895 Expenditure on trans-frontier expedition ; Vote of thanks to the Chair.

1901 Currency problem.

1904 Tibetan affairs and Forward policy.

1905 Military expenditure ; Repressive measures in Bengal.

1906 Indians in Colonies.

1915 Vote of thanks,

Wagle, Bal Manglesh (144)
 Barrister-at-Law, Bombay.
 1885 Foundation member.

770. Wahab-ud-din.

Pleader, Zamindar,
 Moradabad.

1892 Reform of Legislative
 Council.

1893 Permanent Settlement.

771. Wahid Ali Rizvi

1889 Repeal of the Arms Act

772. Wazir Ali Khan (Md.)

Medical Practitioner,
 Gaya; Member, Gaya Go-
 Rakshini Sabha.

1888 Permanent Settlement

773. Webb, Alfred (d. 1908).

A great fighter for Irish
 freedom.

President of the Congress
 1894.

**774. Wedderburn, William (1838-
 1918)**

Retired I. C. S. Most
 prominent member of the
 British Committee of the Cong-
 ress. President of the Cong-
 ress in 1889 and 1910.

Wedderburn became
 Judge of the Bombay High
 Court in 1885. He officiated

as the Chief Secretary to the
 Bombay Government from
 1886 till his retirement in
 1887. He was elected a
 member of the House of
 Commons in 1893 and retained
 the seat till 1900.

1904 Delegation to England.

775. White, D. S.

President of the Anglo-
 Indian and Eurasian Associ-
 ation of South India.

1885 Covenanted Service.

**776. Yajnik, J. U. (Javerilal Uma-
 sankar) (b. 1837)**

Ahmedabad. Merchant,
 Bombay. Sheriff of Bombay.

1885 Enquiry into the condi-
 tion of India; Customs
 Duty.

1889 Vote of thanks.

777. Yasin, Muhammad

Editor, *Mohamedan Advo-
 cate of India*, Madras.

1896 Omnibus resolution.

**778. Yule, George (d. March 26,
 1892.)**

Merchant, Calcutta. Pre-
 sident of the Congress, 1888.

1890 Orders regarding atten-
 dance of Govt. officials
 in Congress.

Yunus, Mohammad (145)

Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

A. I. C. C. 1916.

779. Yusuf Husain KhanAllahabad. Zamindar
and Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow.1910 Election of President ;
Sedition Act; Regulations
framed under the 1909
Act.In moving Resolution XV
he said that it was not honest
of the Muslim League to
demand an unfair amount of
representation. He was
checked by the President (SirWilliam Wedderburn) and
Surendranath Banerjee (Cong-
ress Report, p. 518)Member, Subject Com-
mittee 1910.**780. Yusuf, Muhammad (Nawab)**
Behar.1906 Separation of Judiciary
from the Executive.**781. Zaigam-ud-Dowlah**Prince belonging to the
Oudh Royal family.1896 Congratulation to Queen
Victoria on the sixtieth
year of her reign.

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

1891	XIII	Charles Bradlaugh
1894	X	Maharaja of Mysore
1898	I	W. E. Gladstone
	II	Maharaja Sir Lakshmessar Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga
	III	Sardar Dayal Singh of Lahore
	XI(c)	K. N. Bahadurji
1900	XXII	Bakshi Jaishi Ram
1901	I(a)	Queen Victoria
	I(c)	Mr. Justice Ranade
1902	II	R. M. Sayani
		P. Rangia Naidu
1903	I	Lord Stanley
		W. S. Caine
		Raja of Ramnad
1904	VI	J. N. Tata
		William Digby
1906	I	W. C. Bonnerjee
		Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyabji
		Ananda Mohan Bose
		M. Veerraghava Chariar
1908	XVI	Kali Charan Banerjee
		Pandit Viswambhar Nath
		Alfred Webb
		Bansi Lal Singh
		P. Ananda Charlu
1909	I	Lal Mohan Ghosh
		Ramesh Chandra Dutta
	II	Marquis of Ripon
1910	I	Edward VII
1912	II(a)	A. O. Hume
1913	I	Janaki Nath Ghosal
		Justice P. R. Sundara Iyer

- | | | |
|------|-----|--------------------------|
| 1914 | I | Lady Hardinge |
| | II | Ganga Prasad Varma |
| | III | Ambalal Sakerlal Desai |
| | | Bishnu Pada Chatterjee |
| 1915 | I | Gopal Krishna Gokhale |
| | II | Keir Hardie |
| | III | Sir Henry Cotton |
| | IV | Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta |
| 1916 | I | Bishun Narayan Dar |
| | II | G. Subramania Iyer |
| | III | Daji Abaji Khare |
| | IV | Lord Kitchener |
| 1917 | | Dadabhai Naoroji |

PART III

Resolutions

**Resolutions passed by Congress arranged alphabetically
omitting resolutions on (a) The constitution of the
Congress, (b) Election of office-bearers, (c) Condo-
lence resolution (d) on Venue of the Congress
and (e) The British Congress Committee
which have been dealt with in the
body of the book.**

Abkari and Excise Reform.

1888 vii. That, having regard to the fact that a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants has taken place under the systems of Abkari and Excise now prevailing in India, the Government be respectfully urged to adopt some such improved system as shall tend to discourage insobriety.

1890 iv. That, while recognising the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in paras 103, 104 and 105 of the Despatch published in *The Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of para 103, viz.—

“That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.”

1899 ix. That this Congress is of opinion that stringent measures should be taken by the Government in granting licences to retail liquor shops, and that no such shops should be established anywhere in India without taking the sense of the inhabitants of the place.

1900 xv. That this Congress views with grave alarm and deep regret the rapid increase in the consumption of intoxicants, specially liquor, in the country, and the Congress is of opinion that the cheap supply of liquor, etc. is alone responsible for this. The Congress therefore, fervently appeals to the Government of India to pass measures like the Maine Liquor Law of America, and introduce Bills like Sir Wilfred Lawson's Permissive Bill or the Local Option Act, and impose an additional tax upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicine. The Congress records its firm conviction that if the Government do not take these practical steps immediately, the moral,

material and physical deterioration of those classes, among whom liquor, etc. have obtained a firm hold, would be inevitable ; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian Arts and Industries would bear no fruit. The Congress gives great importance to this question, which, it strongly believes, is intimately connected with the material progress of the country, and emphatically protests against the cheap supply of liquor, etc.

1905 iii. That (a) this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the appointment of a Committee to enquire into Excise Administration in the several provinces of the country, regrets that its composition is exclusively official, and that, therefore, it cannot inspire full public confidence ;

(b) this Congress, concurring in the opinion of previous Congresses, expresses its deliberate conviction that the recognition of the principle of local option in practical administration and a large reduction in the number of existing liquor-shops are conditions precedent to any satisfactory reform in Excise Administration ;

(c) this Congress respectfully urges on the Government of India the desirability of speedily carrying out the principal proposals contained in Sir Frederick Lely's memorandum of last year on Excise Administration ;

(d) that the Congress begs to protest against the virtual shelving by the Government of India in its executive capacity, of the Bengal Excise Bill, which has been welcomed as a sound and progressive piece of temperance legislation.

Agriculture

1901 xv. (a) That in view of the fact that it is agriculture alone that enables the vast masses of people in the various provinces of India to maintain themselves, and in view of the excessive cost of British rule, this Congress is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to bestow its first and undivided attention upon the department of agriculture, and adopt all those measures for its improvement and development which have made America, Russia, Holland, Belgium and several other countries so successful in that direction.

(b) That this Congress begs to draw the special attention of the Government to the recommendations of Dr. Voelcker, who was sent

out to India in 1880 to enquire into the condition of Indian agriculture, and prays that early effect may be given to the same.

(c) That this Congress further prays that the Government would be pleased to establish large number of experimental farms all over the country, as well as scholarships to enable Indian students to proceed to foreign countries for the purpose of learning the methods of improving and developing agricultural resources which are in vogue in those countries.

Agricultural Banks

1896 xiii (2). That Agricultural Banks be established and that greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.

1900 xxi. That the Congress begs to suggest to the Government of India that qualified Indian members, representing the different Provinces, may be nominated to the Committee, recently formed, in connection with the proposal of starting Agricultural Banks in India.

Agricultural Indebtedness

1904 iv. That in view of the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry of the country and of the fact that large numbers of them are forced to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, this Congress again earnestly endorses the suggestion put forward by the Famine Union in London that a careful inquiry be directed by Government into the condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India.

Arms Act, Repeal of

1887 viii. That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships which the present Arms Act (XI of 1878) causes, and the unmerited slur which it costs upon the people of this country, the Government be moved so to modify the provisions of Chapter IV and, if necessary, other portions of the said Act, as shall enable all persons to possess and wear arms, unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals or members of particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf) for reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published.

1889 vi. Repetition of above.

1891 iv. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that, to ensure the adequate protection and efficient defence of the country, it is desirable that the Government should conciliate Indian public opinion and encourage and qualify the Indians to defend their homes and their Government—

(a) by so modifying the rules under the Arms Act, as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to, India, without distinction of creed, class or colour ; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules, of lifelong tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial Jurisdiction in which they are issued ;

(b) by establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as commissioned or non-commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army ;

(c) by organising, throughout the more warlike races of the Empire, a system of Militia service and ;

(d) by authorising and stimulating a widespread system of Volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

1914 vii. That in view of the hardship entailed by the Arms Act (XI of 1878) as at present administered, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, this Congress is of opinion that the said Act and the rules made thereunder should be so modified that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that all licences issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate within the provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, shall be revocable only on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

1915 ix. Repetition of above.

1916 vi. That in the opinion of this Congress, the Indian Arms Act should be repealed and Indians should be entitled to possess and use Arms on conditions similar to those which prevail in England, power being reserved to local Governments to impose

such restrictions as they may, from time to time, deem fit in the case of particular areas or tribes.

Assam Coolies, increase of wages

1901 xlii. That this Congress while thanking the Government of India for its benevolent intentions, regrets, that immediate effect has not been given to the proposal made by the Government itself to enhance the coolies' wages in Assam, although such a course was strongly insisted upon by the Chief Commissioner, and was imperatively demanded by the plainest considerations of justice to the coolies : and this Congress is further of opinion that the time has come when the Government should redeem its pledge to do away with all penal legislation for labour in Assam.

Berar Administration

1897 xvi. That the province of Berar, though not a part of British India, is administered by the Governor-General-in-Council in the same way as any portion of British India, but the important work of legislating for the Province is performed by the Executive instead of by the Legislative Council resulting often in unsuitable and inconvenient legislation. This Congress therefore humbly prays that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General-in-Council all laws and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council, in the same way as those for British India proper.

1899 xviii. That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General-in-Council, all laws and orders having the force of laws intended for Berar should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council, in the same way as those for British India proper.

1900 ix. Repetition of the above.

Bihar, Creation of Province of

1911 iii. That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the creation of a separate Province of Behar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and prays, that in re-adjusting the provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration.

Boycott

1906 vii. That having regard to the fact that the people of this Country have little or no voice in its administration, and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that Province, was, and is, legitimate.

Cable Rates, Reduction of

1910 xx. That in the opinion of this Congress it is extremely desirable, on more than one ground, that the rate of cable messages between England and India should be still further reduced, so as to offer greater facilities to the trade and to the press, and, at the same time, stimulate traffic in those messages.

1911 xxviii. That in the opinion of this Congress, and in the interests of the newspaper press and of trade and commerce, it is extremely desirable that the rate of Cable Messages between England and India should be further reduced, so as to bring it into line with the rate which, under recent arrangement, has been announced to come into force between England and Canada and Australia from the ensuing year.

Cadet Corps

1901 xi. That this Congress desires to express its appreciation of the action of the Government in forming a Cadet Corps consisting of the representatives of Indian Princes and Noblemen, and regards it as the first instalment of a policy which will culminate in the establishment of Military Colleges (as recommended by the Duke of Connaught) at which Natives of India may be educated and trained for a military career, as commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army.

Calcutta Municipal Act (See Local Self-Government)

1899 vii. That this Congress expresses its disapproval of the reactionary policy, subversive of Local Self-Government, evidenced by the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act, and by the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a similar measure, which will have the effect of seriously jeopardising the principles of Local Self-Government.

Central Provinces Representation to the Supreme Council

1895 xv. That this Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against the retrograde policy that the Government of India have this time followed in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking Local Bodies to make recommendations for such nomination and earnestly hopes that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the N. W. Provinces.

Civil Liberty

See Defence of India Act, Deportation, Press Act.

Civil and Military Medical Service

See Indianisation of Civil and Medical Service.

Communal Electorate

1910 xv. That while recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate Representation in the Legislative Councils for the Muhammadan and other communities where they are in a minority, this Congress disapproves the Regulations promulgated last year to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the Regulations framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, before another election comes on, so as to remove anomalous distinctions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise and the qualifications of candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils. The Congress also urges a modification of the Regulations, where necessary, relating to the composition of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, so as to render them effective for practical purposes.

1910 xvi. That this Congress strongly deprecates the expansion or application of the principle of Separate Communal Electorates to Municipalities, District Boards, or other Local Bodies.

Communal Question

1889 xiii. That no subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee, or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or

Muhammadan Delegates as a body object, unanimously or nearly unanimously; and that if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that all the Hindu or all the Muhammadan Delegates as a body are unanimously or nearly unanimously opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped; provided that this rule shall refer only to subjects in regard to which the Congress has not already definitely pronounced an opinion.

Conciliation Boards

1910 xvii. That in view of the disturbances that have occurred from time to time in this country on occasions of religious celebrations, this Congress urges the Government to form Conciliation Boards at places where disturbances are apprehended, and to take timely and adequate measures for the prevention of such disturbances.

Congress Deputation to England

1889 xiii. (e) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard, Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Banerji, Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurf-ud-din, Mr. N. Mudholkar, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerji to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reform which the Congress advocated.

1890 xv. That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozeshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerji, J. Adam, Mano. Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Bannerji, Dadabhai Naoroji, D. A. Khare and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty with the sanction and approval of the Standing Congress Committees of their respective circles, to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.

1904 xv. That, looking to the near approach of a General Election in England, and to the vital importance, at this crisis, of bringing the claims of India before the Electors, before the Parliamentary Candidates, and before the political leaders, it is expedient that the Congress should depute trustworthy and experienced representatives nominated by the different Provinces to be present in England for this purpose, before and during the election; and that a

fund of not less than Rs. 30,000 should be raised to meet the necessary expenses of such Deputation.

1905 xx. That in view of the importance of urging the more pressing proposals of the Congress on the attention of the authorities in England at the present juncture, the Congress appoints its President, the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, C. I. E., as its delegate, and deposes him to proceed to England for this purpose.

1917 xviii. That the All India Congress Committee be authorised to send a deputation to England, if necessary.

Co-operative Credit Societies Bill

1903 xii. That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the introduction of the Co-operative Credit Societies' Bill into the Viceregal Legislative Council, and trusts that the measure may be so enacted as to achieve the objects the Government has in view.

Cotton Excise Duty

1894 I. (a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on Cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant Mill Industry of this country.

(b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State.

(c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this Congress earnestly prays that the Government of India will without delay seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all Cottons from "twenties" to "twenty-fours" from the operation of the Act.

(d) That the President be authorised to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State.

1895 xxi. That this Congress is of opinion that the objection taken by Lancashire manufacturers to exemption of Indian yarns below "twenties" from excise duty is not well-founded, and trusts that the Government of India will stand firm in its policy of levying import duties for revenue purposes, as such levy does not conflict in any way with principles of free trade.

1902 xvi. That having regard to the fact, that while cloth manufactured by means of power looms in this country in no way competes with the peace goods imported from Lancashire, the imposition of the Excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. thereon, apart from its tendency to arrest the free growth of the weaving industry, continues to operate as a great injustice to the manufacturers, and imposes serious hardship on the masses of the people who consume the coarser indigenous products. This Congress earnestly prays that the Government will be pleased to take the matter into favourable consideration and repeal the duty at an early date.

Currency Question

1889 viii. That in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers) but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and hall-marking be made a voluntary institution.

1892 iv. That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency Question, and the importance of the question itself, this Congress desires to express its earnest hope, that unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, necessitating a change in the currency, or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labours of the Brussels Conference have been completed; and, further, that the Government will lay before the Public, for discussion, the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend, before definite action, if any, is resolved upon.

1898 xlii. (a) That, having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by exchange is the steady growth in the demands on India for expenditure in England, this Congress is of opinion that any artificial device for meeting that loss either by changing the currency

at a heavy cost or contracting the internal currency must add to the pressure of India's monetary resources and to her trading disadvantage.

(b) That the only real relief lies in carrying out practically the principle, affirmed by competent authorities, of England bearing an equitable share of that expenditure.

(c) That the Congress regrets that, save Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt and Mr. Merwanji Rastamji, competent and qualified Indian representatives have not yet been invited as witnesses to represent the Indian view of matters on the subject which now engages the attention of the Currency Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President.

(d) That the President be authorised to request Sir William Wedderburn, Chairman of the British Congress Committee, to communicate this Resolution to Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman of the Currency Committee in London.

1899 iv. (a) That having regard to the fact that the principal cause of loss by Exchange is the steady growth of the demand on the Indian Exchequer for expenditure in England, this Congress regrets the introduction of a gold standard in India on the recommendation of the Currency Committee for the purpose of preventing the loss by exchange, and is of opinion that the new measure is calculated to increase the gold obligations of India.

(b) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government will in effect add to the indebtedness of the poorer classes in India, depreciate the value of their savings in the shape of silver ornaments, and virtually add to their rent and taxes.

(c) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government is likely to be prejudicial to the indigenous manufactures of the country.

1901 xvii. That this Congress reaffirms its protest against the Currency Legislation of 1893, in which was artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by over 30 per cent, which, indirectly enhances all taxation to that extent, and which, whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year owing to this heavy indirect taxation—and that too in times of unexampled distress brought about by famines—affects most detrimentally the wealth-producing institutions of the country, viz., agriculture, plantation, and manufacture. That

it is further of opinion that the above-mentioned legislation has alarmingly diminished the power of the peasantry to withstand the attacks of natural calamities, and that the most deplorable consequences may be anticipated to follow from it in course of time.

1902 vi. That this Congress strongly reiterates its protest against the currency legislation of 1893, which has artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by more than thirty per cent, which indirectly enhances all taxation to that extent, and which, whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year, affects most injuriously the interests of the agriculturists and other producers of this country.

Defence of India Act and Deportations

1916 xvi. (a) That this Congress views with alarm the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Bengal Regulation III of 1818, and urges that in the application of the Defence of India Act, which is an emergency measure, the same principle should be followed as under the Defence of the Realm Act of the United Kingdom and the same procedure adopted in dealing with persons sought to be proceeded against under the Act; that after arrest a statement in writing of the charges on which the arrest is made or an order of internment is intended to be passed, should be handed over to the person arrested; that a statement by way of explanation should be taken from an arrested person in writing, if he so desires, but that statements in the nature of a confession shall not be taken except under the safeguards provided in the case of accused persons under the Code of the Criminal Procedure; that, as soon as possible, and before an order for internment is made after arrest, all papers and statements in connection with the case of the High Court, a non-official practising lawyer and a Judge belonging to the Indian Civil Service for consideration; and that proper facilities for legal assistance be afforded to persons arrested under the Defence of India Act.

(b) That in case of proceedings under Bengal Regulations III of 1818 and similar Regulations in other Provinces the same procedure may be followed so far as practicable.

(c) That this Congress strongly protests against the unjust orders passed by the Governments of Bombay and the Central Provinces and

Berar, prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering the said Provinces and earnestly urges the Government of India to allay public feeling by advising the Governments concerned to cancel the orders in question.

Deportation

1897 xii. That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and care and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

(a) This Congress therefore urges that none of these Regulations should be put into force except after notification by the Local Government concerned that the circumstances contemplated by the preamble of the Regulations exist in its Province or in some definite area within the Province, and that it intends, if necessary, to exercise the powers vested in it; and further that in no case should such powers extend to keeping a person arrested under them in custody for a period longer than three months without his being brought to trial before a Court of Justice.

(b) That this Congress, while feeling that the Government of Bombay must have acted under a sense of responsibility in arresting the Sardars Natu under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, is yet of opinion, that five months having now elapsed from such arrest, it is the duty of the Government, in the interests of Justice, and also to allay the disquiet and uneasiness which has been created in the minds of the people at large by the arrest, to bring them—the Sardars Natu—to trial without delay, or, if the Government have no sufficient evidence against them to place before a Court of Justice, to release them.

1898 xv. That this Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the necessity of repealing Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1889, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 as much as the principle and provisions thereof are contrary to the traditions and sense of justice of the Government of her Most Gracious Majesty,

and indeed of all civilised Governments, and inasmuch as they are a standing menace to the liberty of the subject.

Deposal of Indian Princes or Chiefs

1896 xviii. That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal, which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

Economic Condition of India

1901 xvi. That the following gentlemen do form a Committee to report to the Congress next year whether it is desirable to adopt the following resolutions with or without amendments and alterations:

Mr. B. G. Tilak.

Mr. Ranade.

Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma.

Mr. Bhupendranath Basu.

Mr. Umar Buksh.

Mr. J. Choudhuri.

Mr. Harkishan Lal.

Mr. B. Pathak.

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress much of the present state of economic depression of the country is owing to want of knowledge of the methods of production and distribution which prevail in foreign countries, and that it behoves our countrymen to adopt means to bring advanced knowledge and exact information within the reach of the people.

(b) That one of the most important economic questions that require solution at our hands is the organisation of Capital and Credit in villages, towns, provinces, and the country. This Congress invites the attention of its countrymen to make sustained and extensive efforts to organise capital and remove one of the many difficulties in the way of improvement of our economic conditions.

1904 iii. That this Congress is of opinion that the deplorable poverty of the people of this country is mainly due to the drain of wealth from the country that has gone on for years, to the decay of indigenous arts and industries, to over-assessment of land, and to the excessively costly character of the system of administration. And the Congress recommends the following among other remedial measures :

(a) That Government be pleased to afford greater encouragements to education, as indicated in the previous resolution.

(b) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India's Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject and that where Government may still deem it inadvisable to introduce the Permanent Settlement, judicial restrictions be imposed on over-assessment.

(c) That steps be taken to employ a much larger number of Indians in the higher branches of the Public Service.

1905 xv. That this Congress deplores fresh outbreaks of famine in several parts of the country, and holding that the frequent occurrences of famines are due to the great poverty of the people, which forces large numbers of them to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, it again urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to institute a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India.

(1) This Congress is of opinion that the property of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on land, such as was proposed by Lord Canning in 1862, or by Lord Ripon in 1882.

(2) It regrets that Lord Curzon, in his Land Resolution of 1902, failed to recognise any such limitation, and declined to accept the suggestions of the Right Hon. Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists.

(3) It holds that a reasonable and definite restriction of the State-demand, and not the restriction on tenants' rights, such as has found favour in recent years, is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population.

**Deputation to England—See Congress Deputation
Education—General and Technical**

1888 ix. That this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well general as technical, in all its branches and that the declaration made in the recent resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce imperial expenditure on education and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme

importance of increasing, or at any rate of not decreasing the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the Educational Institutions of all kinds now existing.

1891 viii. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

1892 viii. That this Congress is emphatically of opinion, that it is highly inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, i. e., the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

1893 xii. That this Congress is of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency (in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of those branches, i. e. the technical) of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country; and looking to the great poverty of many classes of the community, strongly recommends, that in all classes of Government or Municipal Schools and Colleges, all fees shall be reduced in proportion to the means of parents and relations and remitted wholly in the case of very poor students; and focussing the universal opinion of the Indian Community that undue stress is being laid at present upon mere mental development, this Congress earnestly recommends that henceforth, in all grades and classes of Schools and Colleges, at least equal attention should be devoted to the physical development of the students.

1894 xv. That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it

is inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country that Government grants for Higher Education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of Education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.

1895 xx. That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country the Government grants for Higher Education should in any way be withdrawn, or that fees in educational institutions, wholly or partially supported by the State, should be increased, and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of Education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.

1902 viii. That this Congress desires to tender its respectful thanks to the Government of India for the Circular Letter recently addressed by them to Local Governments on the subject of the Universities Commission Report—so far as it relates to the proposals for the abolition of Second Grade Colleges and Law classes—which has partially allayed the apprehension in the public mind that due weight might not be attached to public opinion in taking action on the recommendations of the Commission. That this Congress views with the gravest alarm many of the Commission's recommendations, the acceptance of which will, in its opinion, reverse the policy steadily pursued during the last half of a century by the British Government in the matter of higher education, by checking its spread and restricting its scope, and by virtually destroying such limited independence as the Universities at present enjoy.

That in particular the Congress objects most strongly to the following recommendations of the Commission :

(a) The abolition of all existing Second Grade Colleges except such as may be raised to the status of a First Grade College and the prohibition of the affiliation of new Second Grade Colleges.

(b) The fixing by the Syndicate minimum rates of fees for different colleges.

(c) The introduction of a rigidly uniform course of studies throughout the country, irrespective of the lines on which the different Universities have so far progressed.

(d) The monopoly of legal instruction by Central Law Colleges, one for each Province or Presidency.

(e) The virtual licensing of all secondary education by making the existence of all private schools dependent upon their recognition by the Director of Public Instruction.

(f) And the officialisation of the Senate and the Syndicate and the practical conversion of the Universities into a Department of Government.

1904 ii. That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the increased outlay on Primary Education, promised in their Resolution of March last, and for the institution of ten technical scholarships for the study of technical arts and industries in foreign countries, repeats its protest of last year against the retrograde policy adopted by Government in regard to Higher Education, as calculated to officialise the governing bodies of the Universities and to restrict the scope of University Education generally; and the Congress places on record its emphatic opinion that in view of the large surpluses which the Government are now realising year after year, it is their clear duty to make a much larger allotment than at present out of public funds for educational expenditure so as

(a) to spread primary education more widely among the mass of the people, and to make a beginning in the direction of free and compulsory education;

(b) to make due provision for imparting instruction in manual training and in scientific agriculture;

(c) to provide for the better manning and equipment of Government Colleges and High Schools so as to make them really model institutions;

(d) to establish at least one central, fully-equipped Polytechnic Institute in the country, with minor Technical Schools and Colleges in different provinces.

1905 xiv. (a) That this Congress repeats its protest against the present policy of the Government of India in respect of High and Secondary education, as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the Universities and restricting the spread of education.

(b) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the special grants made this year to Primary and High Education, again places on record its firm conviction that the

material and moral interests of the country demand a much larger expenditure than at present on all branches of education, and a beginning in the direction of Free Primary Education.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress the recommendations of the Committee on Industrial Education should be promptly carried out by the Government for the better provision of Technical Education to the youth of the country. The Congress especially urges the Government to order an Industrial Survey as recommended by the Committee, and as suggested by the Government of India itself in its Home Department Resolution No. 199, dated 18th June, 1888, as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of an organised system of Technical education in the several Provinces.

(d) That at least one central fully-equipped Polytechnic Institute should be established in the country with minor technical schools and colleges in the different Provinces.

1908 xiv. That this Congress is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps :

(a) to make Primary Education free at once and gradually throughout the country ;

(b) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (special encouragement being given, where necessary, to educate all backward classes) ;

(c) to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces, having regard to local requirements ; and

(d) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of Education in this country.

In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of the Government by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical, and Industrial Education, suited to the condition of the different Provinces in the country.

1910 xiii. ' That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived when a substantial beginning should be made in the matter of Elementary Education—free and compulsory—throughout the country.

1911 xii. That this Congress accords its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education

Bill and expresses its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this Bill in Council.

xviii. That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of the Government by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical and Industrial Education, suited to the conditions of the different Provinces of India.

This Congress further is of opinion that the Government should take early steps :

(a) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes) ;

(b) to make adequate provisions for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces, having regard to local requirements ; and

(c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of Education in this country.

1912 xiii. (a) That while expressing its satisfaction and thankfulness that Government have announced a more active educational policy, this Congress regrets the defeat of the Hon. Mr Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, and affirms its conviction that the introduction of a measure of Free and Compulsory Education is essential to secure a rapid extension of Elementary Education.

(b) This Congress cordially approves of the movement for the establishment of teaching and residential Universities in India.

1913 xi. (a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its donation of larger grants towards the extension of Primary Education in India, is strongly of opinion that a beginning should now be made for introducing Free and Compulsory Education in some selected areas.

(b) That this Congress, while approving of the proposals by Government for introducing teaching and residential Universities, is strongly of opinion that that system should supplement, and not replace, the existing system of University Education, as otherwise the progress of Higher Education among the poorer classes will be seriously retarded.

(c) That this Congress reiterates its prayer to Government to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces, having regard to local requirements.

(d) That this Congress records its strong protest against the action of the Government of India vetoing the selection by the Calcutta University of Messrs. Rasul, Suhrawardi and Jayaswal, as lecturers, on the ground of their connection with politics ; as the bar of politics is so general as to lend itself to arbitrary exclusion of the best scholarship from the lecturer's chair, so detrimental to the interests of Education in the country.

1916 xvii. (a) That this Congress records its deliberate conviction that to foster the development of high education in India, it is necessary that (1) administrative and educational service should be filled mainly by qualified Indians, the existing distinction between the Indian and Provincial Services being done away with, and that (2) a substantial majority of the members of the Senates of the Universities, now existing or to be established, should be elected by the graduates of the Universities and by the professors and teachers of institutions affiliated thereto, and that such Senates should have full control over their own executive and educational policy.

(b) That this Congress is strongly of opinion that Government should assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education than is done at present and that the rules relating to the maximum number of admissions into a class, fees and grants-in-aid should be modified, and that in the matter of grants-in-aid the present differences between European and Indian students should be abolished and facilities afforded to all deserving pupils irrespective of race, caste or creed, for receiving the benefits of higher education.

(c) That in view of the paramount importance of educating the masses and the experience of other countries which show that the diffusion of elementary education is essential to widespread industrial education and general progress, this Congress urges upon the Government of India the necessity of taking early steps to make elementary education free and compulsory.

(d) That in view of experience of other countries this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the urgent necessity of starting an adequate number of industrial, and commercial schools and

similar institutions of a higher type to provide suitable education for industrial and commercial careers, which will have the additional advantage of relieving the pressure on accommodation in general schools and colleges.

(e) That this Congress is further of opinion that if necessary and until national control is effectively secured over the educational system, voluntary organisations, independent of Government control, should be started and developed for the purpose of founding and expanding schools and colleges and for imparting general, technical and commercial education suited to the needs of the country.

(f) That in the opinion of this Congress compulsory religious instruction in any school or college aided out of public funds to pupils, the consent of whose parents has not been previously obtained, is incompatible with the policy of religious neutrality to which Government has pledged itself, and urges the early insertion of a conscience clause in the educational Code to prevent interference on the part of school or college authorities with the religious beliefs of their pupils.

Education, National

1906 xl. That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education, for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—suited to the requirements of the country, on National lines and under National control.

Election of Fellows to the Senate

1900 vi. That this Congress regrets the suspension of the privileges accorded to the graduates of a certain standing of the Calcutta University to return Fellows to the University, and the fact that effect is not given to the provisions of the Act constituting the Punjab University with regard to the election of Fellows by the Senate, and is of opinion that it is desirable, in the interests of sound education, to confer the privilege of electing fellows upon the graduates of Indian Universities where it does not exist, and of extending it where it does exist.

1903 v. That this Congress, while welcoming any wisely considered scheme for the reform of the educational policy of Govern-

ment, is of opinion that the Universities Bill, if passed into law, will have, as recommended in the report of the Universities Commission, the effect of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the independence of the Universities upon which largely depend their efficiency and usefulness and of turning them practically into departments of Government.

That this Congress is of opinion that the provisions of the Bill will not remove the shortcomings of the present system of higher education but that provision for funds and improvement in the standard of teaching by the agency of a superior class of teachers are imperatively needed in the interests of higher education.

That this Congress prays for the following modifications :

(a) That each University should be dealt with by a separate Act.

(b) That in the case of the older Universities the number of ordinary Fellows should not be less than 200, of whom at least 80 should be elected by registered graduates and 20 by the members of the Faculties, and that, in the case of the Universities of Allahabad and of the Punjab, a similar provision should be made.

(c) That the ordinary Fellows should hold office as at present for life, but should be liable to disqualification for absence during a fixed period.

(d) That the provision of a statutory proportion for the heads of Colleges on the Syndicate be omitted.

(e) That all graduates of ten years' standing in a Faculty be declared eligible to vote.

(f) That the section making it obligatory upon Colleges which apply for affiliation or have been affiliated to provide for suitable residential quarters for students and professors and for the permanent maintenance of the Colleges be omitted.

(g) That as regards affiliation and disaffiliation the decisions should, instead of being the direct act of Government as under the Bill, be as at present the act of the University, subject to the sanction of Government.

(h) That as regards the inspection of Colleges it should be conducted by persons specially appointed by the Syndicate, unconnected with the Government Educational Department or any aided or unaided College.

(i) That the power of making by-laws and regulations should as at present be vested in the Senate, subject to the sanction of the Government.

Enquiry Committee or Commission

1885 i. That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised enquiry into the working of Indian Administration, here and in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England.

1886 v. That this Congress do invite all Public Bodies and all Associations throughout the country, humbly and earnestly, to entreat His Excellency the Viceroy to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the appointment of a Commission, to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a tentative form of representative Institutions into India, as has been indicated in Resolutions III of the past, and IV of the present year's Congress.

1888 x. That having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general system of technical education with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed Commission, to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

1894 v. That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards an enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burden, and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom.

1900 ii. That having regard to the oft-recurring famines in India, and the manifestly decreasing power of resistance on the part of its population in the face of a single failure of harvest leading as it frequently does to human suffering, loss of life, destruction of life, destruction of live-stock, disorganisation of rural operations and interference with the legitimate work of the administrative machinery,

the Congress hereby earnestly prays that the Government of India may be pleased to institute at an early date a full and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India with a view to the ascertainment and adoption of practicable remedies.

1904 iv. That in view of the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry of the country and of the fact that large numbers of them are forced to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, this Congress again earnestly endorses the suggestion put forward by the Famine Union in London that a careful inquiry be directed by Government into the condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India.

1905 v. That this Congress is of opinion that to enable the Parliament to discharge more satisfactorily its responsibility in regard to the Government of India, periodical Parliamentary enquiries into the condition of India should be revived, and the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the British estimates.

1910 xiv. That having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that a mixed Commission of enquiry composed of officials and non-officials, be appointed to enquire into the causes which have led to this increase and to suggest remedies.

• **Exchange Compensation Allowance**

1894 xvi. That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

(j) The discontinuance of the Exchange Compensation allowance granted to undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees while the Exchequer is in a condition of chronic embarrassment.

1895 xvi. That this Congress repeats its protest of the last two years against the grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to the undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving now an annual expenditure of over a crore and a half of rupees.

Excise Duty—See Cotton Excise Duty

Executive Councils in the U. P. and the Punjab etc.

1909 v. That this Congress while regretting that Cl. 3 of the

India Councils Bill, under which power was to be given to the Governor-General in Council to create Executive Councils to assist the heads of the Government in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Eastern Bengal, Assam and Burma, was not passed as originally framed, earnestly urges that action may be taken at an early date under the Act to create Executive Councils in the abovenamed Provinces.

1910 viii. That this Congress earnestly recommends that speedy action be taken under the Indian Councils Act to establish Executive Councils in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in the Punjab.

1911 xx. That this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the justice of creating an Executive Council in the United Provinces at as early a date as may be practicable, and it further expresses an earnest hope that those Provinces will soon be placed under a Governor, as Madras, Bombay and Bengal.

Executive Power

1894 xvii. That this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magistrates by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act V of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary, dangerous, and unprecedented character.

Expenditure Commission

1895 ii. That this Congress is of opinion that the enquiry by the Expenditure Commission will not be satisfactory to the people of this country, nor be of any practical advantage to the Government, unless the lines of policy which regulate expenditure are enquired into, and unless facilities are afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. And this Congress also feels that the enquiry would, in all probability, yield better results, if the proceedings were conducted with open doors.

1897 iii. That this Congress rejoices that the "Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure" was pleased to decide to admit the public to its proceedings, and further desires to express its grateful acknowledgements for the opportunity afforded by the Honourable Commission to representative Indian witnesses, to state fully

the case on behalf of India. With regard to the three divisions of the reference, the Congress desires most respectfully to submit the following prayers for the favourable consideration of the Honourable Commission :

(1) As regards the machinery to control Indian Expenditure it is prayed (a) that the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people, and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the Provisions of the Budget ; (b) That a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils ; and (c) that each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to enquire into, and report upon, the financial condition of India ;

(2) As regards the progress Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and progress of the people, and that a large saving and more efficient administration may be obtained, by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency, in the higher grades of the Public Service ; and

(3) As regards apportionments of charges, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the Empire are involved ; and that especially the expense of the present war beyond the frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Lastly, that it be an instruction to the President to submit a copy of this Resolution, under his own signature to the Chairman of the Royal Commission with the least practicable delay.

Famine Commission

1897 ix. That this Congress is glad to note that the Government of India has appointed a Famine Commission and hopes that the Commission will institute a searching enquiry into the matter. At the same time the Congress once again desires to repeat its conviction that famines are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assess-

ment consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government both in the Civil and Military Departments, which have so far impoverished the people that, at the first touch of scarcity, they are rendered helpless and must perish, unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries, which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

1897 xvii. That this Congress prays that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the causes of periodical famine and the remedies for the prevention of the same.

Famine Prevention

1899 xiii. That this Congress while gratefully recognising the endeavours made by the Indian and Provincial Governments to save human life and relieve distress at the present famine, urges the adoption of the true remedy—to improve the condition of the cultivating classes and prevent the occurrence of famine, this Congress recommends the curtailment of public expenditure, development of local and indigenous industries and the moderating of land assessment.

(Thanks to England, the British Colonies and America)

1897 x. That this Congress expresses its heart-felt gratitude to the British public and to the peoples of the British Colonies, the United States of America and other foreign countries for the generous aid afforded by them to the starving millions of this country, during the late dreadful visitation of famine, and also wishes to place on record its high appreciation of the services which many men, and women—English and Indian—residing in this country rendered, and the pecuniary help they gave for the relief of those afflicted by that calamity.

And that it be an instruction to the various Congress Committees to raise a sum of a thousand pounds, to be sent to the Lord Mayor of London on behalf of the Congress, in order that he might be pleased to put some memorial in some conspicuous part of London expressing the gratitude of the people of India for the help rendered to them during the time of the last famine.

1901 viii. (a) That this Congress deplores the recurrence of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India in recent years, and records its deliberate conviction that famines in India are mainly due (1) to the great poverty of the people brought on by the decline of all indigenous arts and industries and the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years ; and (2) to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land, consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the civil and military departments which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of the Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, improve the agriculture of the country, foster the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures, and help forward the introduction of new industries.

(b) That this Congress rejoices that a "Famine Union" has been formed in London with a branch in Liverpool, consisting of distinguished men from all parties, and this Congress desires to place on record its deep gratitude to the members of the Union for their sympathy with the famine-stricken sufferers in India, and the earnest and eminently practical way in which they have set themselves to the task.

1902 iv. That this Congress desires to place on record its grateful appreciation of the efforts which the Famine Union in England is making to secure a detailed enquiry into the economic condition of a number of typical villages in India. In the opinion of this Congress such an enquiry will in no way prove inquisitorial as apprehended, but will be of the highest value for a proper understanding of the true condition of the Indian Ryot and will clear up many of the misapprehensions which prevail at present on the subject and which interfere with the adoption of the right remedial measures. That the Congress, is of opinion that such an enquiry, following the two severe famines, is highly expedient, inasmuch as it will enable the Government to be placed in possession of economic data of great utility for purposes of comparison. And the Congress hopes that the Secretary of State for India will be pleased to reconsider his decision in the matter.

In this connection the Congress would respectfully urge that the Government of India should be pleased to publish the results of the official enquiries which have been held in the past on this subject, notably the enquiry instituted during the time of Lord Dufferin, extracts from which, alone, have been published.

Fasting unto death

1917. xi That this Congress being informed by the President as a matter of urgency of the case of Lala Arjun Lal Sethi, a Jain prisoner now in Vellore Jail, in imminent danger of death by starvation on account of his religious principles, appeals to the Government of India to intervene at once and save his life.

Forced Labour

1893 xvi. That the Government be moved, once for all, to put a stop, by new and express legislation, (the existing provisions of the Penal Code having proved inoperative) to the existing oppressive system of forced labour (known as *Begar*) and forced contributions of supplies (known as *Rasad*), which, despite numerous Resolutions of the Government of India, are still prevalent through India.

Forest Administration

1891 xi. That having regard to the very serious discontent created especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India be most respectfully but earnestly, entreated to investigate this carefully, and endeavour to mitigate its harshness and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

1894 xviii. That this Congress records its deep-felt gratitude to the Government of India for its circular resolution No. 22/F, published in the Supplement to *The Gazette of India* dated 20th October, 1894, and its high appreciation of the generous principle which enunciates, of subordinating fiscal interest to the needs and agricultural interest of the ryot population in the management of forests.

And would further represent that in forests falling under classes 3 and 4 of the said resolutions, fuel, grazing concessions, fodder, small timber for building houses and making agricultural implements, edible forest products etc., may be granted free of charge in all cases under such restrictions as to quantity, etc., as the Government may deem proper; and that whatever hardship may be felt under present

conditions, the policy of the said Resolution may be carried out with reference to existing Forest areas, and the existing Reserve boundaries so adjusted to leave a sufficiently large margin to facilitate the enjoyment by the agricultural population of their communal rights without molestation and annoyance by the minor subordinates of the Department.

1895 xviii. That this Congress is of opinion that the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of forest subordinates in various ways, which have led to much discontent throughout the country. The objects of forest conservancy, as announced in the resolution of 1894, are declared to be not to secure the largest revenue but to conserve the forests to the interest chiefly of the agricultural classes and of their cattle. The existing set of rules subordinate the latter consideration to the former and an amendment of the rules with a view to correct this mischief is, in the opinion of the Congress, urgently called for.

Franchise

1910 xv. That while recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate Representation in the Legislative Councils for the Muhammadan and other communities where they are in a majority, the Congress disapproves the Regulations promulgated last year to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the Regulations framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, before another election comes on, so as to remove anomalous distinctions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise and the qualifications of candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils. The Congress also urges a modification of the Regulations, where necessary relating to the composition of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, so as to render them effective for practical purposes.

Frontier Policy

1895 viii. That in view of the great extensions of the British

power on the North-West and North-East of the proper frontiers of India into regions not contemplated by Parliament when it passed Section 56 of the Government of India Act, the Congress is of opinion that over and above the sanction of Parliament necessary before the revenue and forces of India are employed outside the frontiers of India, the interests of India absolutely demand that the expenses of all such expeditions should be shared between England and India. Without some such additional guarantee, the forward Military policy will involve India in hopeless financial confusion.

1897 i. That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the present Frontier Policy of the Government of India is injurious to the best interests of the British Empire in general, and this country in particular, as it involves frequent Military expeditions beyond the present limits of the British Indian Empire and causes great loss of valuable lives and public money ; it therefore entreats the British Nation to put a stop to this aggressive policy and to lay down, that, if such expeditions are found necessary, they being for Imperial purposes, the major portion of their expenses should be defrayed by the British Exchequer.

1897 ii. That in view of the fact that the calamities of famine and plague have dislocated the already seriously embarrassed finances of this country, and crippled its limited resources, and that the Military operations carried on beyond the North West Frontier are for the protection of Imperial interests, this Congress prays that the British Parliament will, pending the settlement of the principle on which the Military charges are to be apportioned between Great Britain and India, be pleased to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the present war.

1898 vii. That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the Frontier policy pursued for some years past by the Government of India is injurious to its best interests, inasmuch as it involves this country in frequent military expeditions beyond its natural limits and the practical starvation of the civil administration ; and that, as long as the policy is not radically reversed, and a return made to the older and the only safe policy of keeping within the statutory limits of the country, all declarations, no matter however confidently made, about the cessation of frontier troubles are entitled to little weight, as evidenced by the occurrences of the last

few weeks in the Swat Valley which necessitated the holding in readiness of a considerable body of troops imposing fresh burdens on the Exchequer ; and that all the expenditure which these military expeditions may involve, an adequate share should be borne by the British Exchequer.

1904 x. That this Congress expresses its profound regret that in case of the recent Tibetan Expedition the object of the Act of 1858, in providing that India's revenue shall not be spent outside the Statutory limits of India, except to repeal foreign aggression, without the previous sanction of Parliament, was frustrated in practice by the Government continuing to describe the Expedition as a "Political Mission", till it was no longer possible for Parliament to withhold its sanction to the required expenditure, and that Indian revenues were thus unjustifiably deprived of the protection constitutionally secured to them. This Congress further places on record its regret that the House of Commons refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of that Expedition, when it was in furtherance of Imperial interests and to carry out an Imperial policy that the Expedition had been undertaken.

The Congress protests strongly against this injustice and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan Expedition was but part of a general forward policy, which, with the Missions to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country.

Governors and their Executive Councils.

1896 xvi. That having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, and in view to the utilisation by those Governors of the power of giving when necessary a casting vote allowed them by law, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with Councils of three members and not of two members as at present and that one of the three Councillors must be other than a member of the Indian Civil Service ; and in view to carrying out the object without additional cost, this Congress would suggest that the officers commanding the

forces of those Presidencies be declared members' of the respective Council as the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay were, before the Madras and Bombay Armies Act of 1893 was passed.

Government Officials and the Congress

1890 vii. That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows :—

The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government officers residing in Calcutta, has issued circular to all Secretaries, and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited.

And having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy :

BELVEDERE,
28th December, 1890

Dear Sir,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desirous to say that the Lieutenant Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings.

Your faithfully,
P. C. LYON

Private Secretary.

authorises and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meeting of this Congress even as spectators and to enquire, most respectfully, whether His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

High Court for the Panjab

1893 xviii. That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Panjab to that of a Chartered High Court, in the interest of the administration of justice in that Province.

1894 xiii. Repetition of the above.

High Court's relation with the Government of India

1911 xxv. That this Congress is strongly of opinion that all the High Courts in India should have the same direct relations with the Government of India alone as the High Court of Fort William in Bengal at present time.

Home Charges

1893 xvii. That this Congress tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claim to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and respectfully entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at some equitable settlement of the matter.

Hunger Strike—see Fasting unto Death

Income Tax

1887 vi. That as the administration of the Income-Tax, especially as regards income below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, the loss of revenue thus involved, being made good, and further financial difficulties, if any, met, by reductions in the existing public expenditure, or, should this prove impossible, by the re-imposition of an import duty on, the finer classes of cotton goods.

1888 viii. That as the administration of the Income Tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000 has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000.

1891 vi. Repetition of the above.

1903 viii. That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the relief granted to the poorer classes of the country by the reduction of the Salt-Tax and by raising the assessable minimum for Income Tax, and prays that the Government of India be pleased to make a further reduction in the Salt-Tax.

Indentured Labour

1917 xiv. This Congress is of opinion that the report of the later Departmental Committee which recently sat in London to consider the question of indentured labour is not calculated to deal with the evils of indentured labour. This Congress is further of opinion that nothing short of complete abolition of indentured labour, whether described as such or otherwise, can effectively meet the evils which have been admitted by all concerned to have done irreparable harm to the labourers, and this Congress records its grateful appreciation of the services rendered to the cause by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who at considerable risk to health journeyed to the Fiji Isles, and is still labouring for the welfare of the Indians residing in those Isles.

Indian Budget Statement & the House of Commons

1889 ix. That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorises the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, to sign a Petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

1890 iii. Repetition of the above.

India Council

1885 ii. That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms.

1894 iv. That this Congress considers the Abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms; and suggests that in its place a Standing Committee of Members of the House of Commons be appointed.

Indianisation of Services

1894 vi. (a) That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the despatch of the Secretary of State supporting the views of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examinations, and this Congress hereby places on record its respectful but firm protest against the despatch, as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the proclamation of the Queen of 1st November 1858 (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now seek to repudiate) by creating a disability founded upon race, for the despatch lays down that a minimum of European officials in the Covenanted Service is indispensable.

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress the creation of the Provincial Service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this Service, constituted as it is at present, falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and the interests of the subordinate Service will not suffer by the concession of Simultaneous Examinations.

See also **Simultaneous Examination.**

1900 v. That the Congress regrets the practical exclusion of natives of India from the higher appointments in the Police, the Public works, the State Railways, the Opium, the Customs, the Telegraph, the Survey and other Departments, and prays that full justice be done to the claims of the people of India in regard to these appointments.

1901 ix. That in this connection, this Congress desires to express its profound disappointment at the policy of the Government in respect of the wider employment of Natives of India in the higher offices of the Minor Civil Services, such as the Police, the Customs, the Telegraph, the Forest, the Survey, the Opium, as involving their practical exclusion from these offices and as being opposed to the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission; and this Congress prays that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to remedy the injustice done to the claims of the people of this country.

1903 ii. (a) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public

Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country; that while the recommendations of the Commission did not secure full justice to the claims of the people of the country to larger and more extended employment in the higher grades of the Public Service, the Government have not even carried them out in their integrity, and have not extended the principle of appointing Indians to new appointments since created from time to time, and in Special Departments such as the Salt, Opium, Medical and Police Departments, the Survey Department of the Government of India, the Government Telegraph Department, the Indo-British Telegraph Department, the Mint Department, the Postal Department, and the Foreign Department.

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress the recent policy of the heads of departments and of the authorities responsible for Railway administrations prescribing the appointment of Indians in the Public and the Railway Services is a grave violation of the pledges and assurance given by the Government.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress in order to arrest the economic drain that is caused by the present system of appointments by the Government, to secure to the people of the country the invaluable benefit of the experience and knowledge which a training in the Public Service affords, and to introduce economy in the administration, a policy of free employment of the Natives of the soil in all branches of the Service, is imperatively demanded.

1904 i. (a) That in the opinion of this Congress, the principles and policy enunciated by the Government of India in their Resolution, dated 24th May 1904, on the subject of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, are inconsistent with those laid down in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 by the late Queen-Empress, and this Congress enters its respectfully but emphatic protest against an attempt to explain away pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the people of this country, and to deviate from arrangements deliberately arrived at by the Government after a careful examination of the whole question by a Public Commission.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that the true remedy for many existing financial and administrative evils lies in the wider employment of Indians in the higher branches of the country's

service ; and while concurring with previous Congresses in urging that immediate effect should be given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June, 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for service in India simultaneously in England and in India, this Congress places on record its firm conviction that the only satisfactory solution of this question is to be found in the re-organisation of the Indian Civil Service, which should be reconstituted on a decentralised basis, its judicial functions in the meantime being partly transferred to persons who have been trained in the profession of Law.

(c) That this Congress deplores the abolition of the competitive test for the Provincial Service in most Provinces of India. Past experience has amply established the fact that a system of Government nomination degenerates, in the special circumstances of this country, into a system of appointment by official favour, and this, by bringing unfit men into the Service, impairs the efficiency of the administration, and in addition unfairly discredits the fitness of Indians for high office. This Congress, therefore, respectfully urges the Government of India to restore the competitive test for the Provincial Service, wherever it has been abolished.

1912 iv. (a) That this Congress records its sense of satisfaction at the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Service, and while expressing its regret at the inadequacy of the non-official Indian element thereon, trusts the deliberation of the Commission will result in the just recognition of Indian claims to appointments in the various departments of the Public Service.

(b) This Congress urges the introduction of the reforms outlined below :

(1) The holding of the open Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service and Public Service now recruited in England simultaneously in India and in England.

(2) The recruitment of the Public Services as a rule by means of Competitive Examinations and not by a system of nomination.

(3) The abolition of the division of Service into Imperial and Provincial as now constituted, and the equalisation of the conditions of service as between Europeans and Indians.

(4) The abrogation of all rules, orders, notifications and circulars

which expressly or in effect debar Indians as much from any appointment in any department.

(5) The removal of restrictions against the appointment of persons other than members of Indian Civil Service in certain high and miscellaneous offices.

(6) The complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions and services. The creation of a distinct Judicial Service to be recruited from among members of the legal profession, and proportionate curtailment of the cadre of the Indian Civil Service.

(7) The constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service for Civil Medical Service for Civil Medical appointments and the restriction of members of the Indian Medical Service to military posts only, the designation of the Indian Medical Service to be changed to Indian Military Medical Service.

(8) The closing of all Indian Services to the natives of those British Colonies where Indians are not eligible for service.

1913 vii. (a) That this Congress places on record its indignant protest against, and emphatically repudiates, as utterly unfounded, the charges of general incompetence, lack of initiative, lack of character, etc., which some of the witnesses, among whom this Congress notices with regret some of the highest administrative officers, have freely levelled at Indians as a people.

(b) That this Congress begs to express its earnest hope that the Royal Commissioners will, alike on grounds of Justice, national progress, economy, efficiency and even expediency, see fit to make recommendations which will have the certain effect of largely increasing the present very inadequate proportion of Indians in the high appointments in the Public Services of their own country ; thus redeeming the solemn pledge contained in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858.

(c) In particular, this Congress places on record its deep conviction :

(1) that justice can never be done to the claim of the people of this country unless the examinations for the recruitment of the superior offices of the various Services be held in India as well as in England ;

(2) that the age limit in the case of candidates for the Indian Civil Service should not be lowered, as such a step will operate to

the disadvantage of Indian candidates as well as prove detrimental to efficiency ;

(3) that the Judicial and Executive Services and functions should be completely separated and the Judicial Service recruited from the legal profession and placed in subordination to the High Court instead of to the Executive Government ;

(4) that such restrictions as exist at present against the appointment of persons other than members of the Indian Civil Service to certain high offices be removed ;

(5) that any rule or order which, in terms or in effect, operates as a bar against the appointment of an Indian as such to any office under the Crown for which he may otherwise be eligible, should be rescinded as opposed to the Act and the Proclamation hereinbefore mentioned ;

(6) that the division of Services into Imperial and Provincial be abolished and the conditions of Services be equalised as between Indians and Europeans, and that in case the division be maintained the recruitment of the Executive branch of the Provincial Civil Service be made by means of an open competitive examination instead of by nomination ;

(7) that in case the said division be maintained, the Indian Educational and other Services be recruited in India as well as in England, and Indians of the requisite attainments be appointed thereto both directly and by promotion from the respective Provincial Services ;

(8) that civil medical posts should not be filled by the appointment of Members of the Military I. M. S. or I. S. M. D., and a distinct and separate Indian Civil Medical Service should be constituted therefor and recruited by means of competitive examination held in India as well as England ; educational and scientific appointments, however, being filled by advertisement in India and abroad ;

(9) that the present scale of salaries is sufficiently high and should not be raised, and further, that exchange compensation allowance should be abolished, as it has been a costly anomaly since exchange was fixed by statute ; and

(10) that the people of those dominions of the Crown, where they are not accorded the rights of British citizens, should be declared ineligible for appointments in India.

Indianisation of Higher Educational Service

1896 vi. That this Congress hereby records its protest against the scheme reorganising the Educational Service which has just received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Education Service to which they have hitherto been admitted ; for in the words of the Resolution :—"In future Natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial Service." The Congress prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

Indianisation of Engineering Service

1900 xviii. That in the opinion of the Congress, the new rules restricting the number of Indians eligible to qualify themselves for employment in the Engineering Branch of the Indian Public Works Department, through the Cooper's Hill College to a maximum of two only in a year, should be withdrawn as a matter of bare justice to the people of this country, and that the said College should be made available equally for the use of all subjects of Her Majesty ; and the Congress is further of opinion that the invidious distinction made between Indians and Anglo-Indians as regards the guaranteed appointments in connection with the College at Roorki should be withdrawn and that these appointments should be made available to all Her Majesty's Indian subjects in all parts of the country.

Indianisation of the Civil Medical Service

1893 iv. That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interest of public medical education and the advancement of medical science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such services in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military service, so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government, which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch, and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available and indigenous talent in particular.

1894 viii. (a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when in the interests of Public Medical Education, and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such Service in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service.

(b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service of (Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and prays that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

(c) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to reorganise the Chemical Analyser's department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistants, or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on the footing of Specialists.

1895 xii. (a) That this Congress notes with satisfaction that its views in regard to the urgency and lines of reform in regard to the conditions of the Civil and Military Medical Services of the country are being endorsed in influential Medical and Military circles, and that in the interest of the public, Medical Science and the profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, this Congress once again affirms (1) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches, one for the European army and the other for Native troops, worked on identical lines; (2) that the Civil Medical Service of the Country should be reconstituted a distinct and independent Medical Service, wholly detached from its present Military connection, and recruited from the open profession of Medicine in India and elsewhere, with a due leaning to the utilisation of indigenous talent, other things being equal.

(b) That this Congress further affirms that the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants require thorough and open enquiry with a view to the redressing of long-standing anomalies and consequent grievances ; and the Congress notices with regret that in their recent scheme of the reorganisation of the Chemical Analyser's department, the oft-admitted claims of Assistant Chemical Analysers have been apparently overlooked by Government.

1896 x. Repetition of above.

1898 xi. (a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working and unnecessarily costly ; that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, medical education and the advancement of the medical service and scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such Service in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service.

(b) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in throwing open 19 Civil Surgeoncies to be filled up by promotion from the ranks of Civil Assistant Surgeons, it deploras nevertheless the unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Civil Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with the members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, and prays that Government will grant an open inquiry into the present constitution of the Subordinate Civil Medical department by a mixed commission of official and non-official members.

(c) That in this connection the Congress desires to place on record its sense of loss the Congress and the country have sustained by the untimely death of the late Dr. K.N. Bahadurji, of Bombay, the last years of whose life were devoted to the promotion of the reform of the Medical Services in this country.

1899 v. That this Congress is of opinion that the union of the Military and Civil Medical Services is extravagant, inconvenient, and prejudicial to the interests of the Government as well as of the people, and strongly urges the necessity of the separation of the two services by the creation of a distinct Civil Medical Department,

recruited by open, simultaneous competition in England and India.

1901 xiv. That this Congress is of opinion that in the interests of the public, the medical service, and the profession, as well as in the cause of economical administration, it is necessary (1) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches—one for the European Army and the other of the Native Troops worked on identical lines ; and (2) that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical Service wholly detached from its present military connection and recruited from the profession of medicine in India and elsewhere, due regard being had to the utilisation of indigenous talent.

1902 xvii. Repetition of above.

1910 xi (a) That the Congress thanks the Secretary of State for his Despatch regarding the employment in the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service, and earnestly requests the Government of India to take early action in the direction pointed out by the Secretary of State for India ;

(b) that in the interests of public, the medical service, and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service wholly independent of the Indian (Military) Medical Service.

1911 xxvi. Repetition of above.

Indianisation of the Higher Judicial Service

1894 vii. That this Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge, and the higher Judicial Service in Bengal, the N. W. P. and Oudh, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case.

1902 xii. That this Congress is of opinion that the present system, under which a very large proportion of the District Judgeships, Joint-Judgeships and Assistant-Judgeships, are filled by Covenanted Civilians without any special legal training and without adequate

guarantee of the knowledge of law necessary for the satisfactory discharge of the very important and responsible judicial duties entrusted to them, is injurious to the best interest of efficient judicial administration in the mufassil, and that it is urgently necessary to devise means to ensure a higher standard of efficiency in the administration of law, by securing the services of trained lawyers for the said posts.

Indianisation of Military Service

1887 iv. That in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to ; that the Military Service in its higher grades should be practically opened to the natives of the country, and that the Government of India should establish Military Colleges in this country, where the natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army.

1900 iii. That having regard to the loyal services rendered by Indian soldiers in the service of the Empire, the Congress again urges on the Government —

(a) The desirability of throwing open to them the higher grades of the Military Service ; and

(b) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a Military career, as Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers, according to capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army.

1902 xviii. That while thanking the Government of Lord Curzon for opening a military career to a few scions of noble families by the creation of Cadet Corps, this Congress urges that in view of the loyalty and splendid services rendered by the Indian troops to the British Empire in the late Chinese War and in other wars, Government will be pleased to throw open to the Natives of India higher posts in the Military Services and to establish Military Colleges at which Indians may be trained for a military career as commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Army.

1908 ix. That this Congress prays that the high recognition of the valour and fidelity of the Indian troops by His Majesty the King-Emperor in his Message to the Princes and Peoples of India

should include the throwing open to Indians of higher careers in the Army, from which, as this Congress has repeatedly pointed out, they have been hitherto excluded.

1909 xi. That this Congress protests against the continued exclusion of the children of the soil from higher military careers, and in urging that such careers be thrown open to them, suggests the establishment of Military Colleges, at which Indians may receive the training necessary to qualify them for His Majesty's Commission in the Army.

1911 xxiv. That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the injustice of keeping the higher ranks of the Army closed against the people of this country should remain no longer unredressed, and this Congress expresses its earnest hope that the general expectation in the country that before His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor leaves the shores of India, a more liberal policy under which commissions in the army will be granted to selected Indians will be announced, will not be disappointed.

1917 vi. That this Congress urges that adequate provision be made under the Indian Defence Force Act giving military training to as large a portion of His Majesty's Indian subjects as offered themselves for such training and in particular, the Congress urges that Cadet Corps consisting of young men from 16 to 18 years of age be organised in each province.

(b) That this Congress notes with satisfaction the removal of the racial bar against the admission of Indians to the Commissioned ranks of the Army and the appointment of these Indians to such ranks, and expresses the hope that the rules to be framed to regulate appointments will provide for the appointment of Indians to a large proportion of commissioned posts for the opening of colleges in India for the training of officers and for their examination in this country. The Congress further hopes that the rules will be published for general information before they are passed.

(c) That this Congress strongly urges that the pay, prospects and equipment of Indian soldiers and non-commissioned officers should be improved.

Indianisation of Police Service

1911 xvii. That this Congress desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that the reforms in the Police system which have

been effected under the recommendations of Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission have not produced the results which had been anticipated, as is evident from the judicial findings of the highest courts in some recent cases, and they have not improved the quality or the efficiency of the police force, including the village police. This Congress is of opinion that the pay and prospects of the Indian officers are not sufficient to attract the best men to the Service, and it strongly protests against the practical exclusion of Indians of a better class from the higher offices of trust and responsibility, and records its conviction that no real improvement in the methods of Police investigation can be effected unless confessions are made inadmissible, except when made at trial.

Indianisation of the Higher Branches of Railway Service

1902 xv. That, in view of the fact that the Railway Administration forms an important branch of the P. W. Department of the Government, the Congress notices with regret that the Natives of India are practically excluded from higher appointments such as Traffic Inspectors, District Traffic Superintendents, Accountants, etc., on State, as well as on Guaranteed Railways, and appointments of Rs. 200 and above are, as a rule, bestowed only on Europeans. That the exclusive employment of Europeans in the higher posts results in heavy working charges, the burden of railways have been constructed, and who have to bear the ultimate liability of deficits on the Guaranteed Railways. The Congress therefore deems it its duty to urge in the interests of economical railway administration as also for the purpose of removing legitimate grievance, that Government will be pleased to direct the employment of qualified Indians in the higher branches of the Railway Service.

Indians on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

1901 v. That this Congress strongly of opinion that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be strengthened so far as appeals from India are concerned and this Congress respectfully ventures to suggest that Indian lawyers of eminence should be appointed as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the determination of appeals from India.

Indians in British Colonies, Disabilities of

1894 xxi. That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them.

1895 ix. That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interest of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake.

1896 ix. That this Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected.

1898 xii. That this Congress deplores the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Indian and European Settlers in South Africa, a prominent instance of which is afforded by the recent decision of the Transvaal High Court restricting Indians to "Locations," and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers, and to relieve them of the disabilities imposed on them.

1900 xx. That this Congress once more draws the attention of the Indian Government as well as of the Secretary of State for India to the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa, and earnestly hopes that in view of the rearrangement of the boundaries in that Continent and the incorporation of the late Boer Republics into the British Dominions, the disabilities under which the Indian settlers laboured in those Republics, and as to which Her Majesty's Government owing to their independence in internal matters felt powerless to obtain redress, will now no longer exist, and that the serious inconvenience caused to the settlers in Natal, among others by the immigration Restrictions and the Dealer's Licences Acts of that colony, which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental

principles of the British Constitution as also the Proclamation of 1858, will be materially mitigated, if not entirely removed.

1901 vi. That this Congress sympathises with the British Indian settlers in South Africa in their struggle for existence and respectfully draws the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Anti-Indian legislation there, and trusts that while the question of the status of British Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies is still under the consideration of the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, His Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure for the settlers a just and equitable adjustment thereof.

1902 v. That this Congress once more urges upon the attention of the Government of India the serious grievances of Indian Settlers in South Africa, and regrets to observe that the Imperialistic spirit of the British Colonies, instead of mitigating the anti-Indian legislation, threatens to impose further disabilities and hardships on His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects there. In view of the admitted loyalty of these Indian settlers and the help rendered by them during the late war, as well as the invaluable help rendered by India to the British Empire at a most critical time, the Congress fervently prays that the Government of India will be pleased to take the necessary practical steps to secure a just, equitable, and liberal treatment of the Indian settlers in South Africa.

In this connection the Congress notes with satisfaction the assurance recently given by the Secretary of State for India, to a deputation that interviewed him on the subject, that early steps are contemplated to relax the stringency of the restrictions at present enforced against the Indian settlers in the territories lately conquered from the Boer Government.

1903 vi. That this Congress views with grave concern and regret the hard lot of His Majesty's Indian subjects living in British Colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, the great hardships and disabilities to which they are subjected by the Colonial Governments, and the consequent degradation of their status and rights as subjects of the King, and protests against the treatment of Indians by the Colonies as backward and uncivilised races : and it prays that in view of the great part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the Colonies and the economic advantage which have

resulted both to India and to the Colonies from their emigration to and stay in the latter, the Government of India will be pleased to ensure to them all the rights and privileges of British citizenship in common with the European subjects of His Majesty, by enforcing, if necessary, such measures as will render it impossible for the Colonies to secure Indian immigrants except on fair, equitable and honourable terms ; and that in view to the great importance of the principle of the equal treatment to all His Majesty's subjects, His Majesty's Government should devise adequate measures to ensure that position to Indian emigrants in all the British Colonies.

1904 v. (a) That the Congress, while noting with satisfaction the relaxation of restrictions recently ordered by the Government of the Australian Commonwealth in the case of Indian visitors to Australia, places on record its deep regret that Indian Settlers—subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor—should continue to be subjected to harassing restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies.

(b) In particular, this Congress records its most emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggravated form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government in view of the fact that one of the declared causes of the recent Boer War was the treatment meted out to the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Government of that Republic, and in view also of the admitted loyalty of Indian Settlers in South Africa and the great help rendered by them during the War, this Congress fervently prays that the British Parliament will insist on just and equal treatment being secured to Indian settlers in that Crown Colony.

(c) In this connection the Congress tenders its sincere thanks to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India for their firm stand in the interests of Indian emigrants, and the Congress earnestly trusts that they will not relax their efforts in the matter till a satisfactory solution is reached.

1905 ix. (a) That this Congress, while expressing its sense of satisfaction at the passing by the Australian House of Representatives, of a Bill to amend the Law of Immigration so as to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the people of India, again places on record its sense of deep regret that British Indians should continue

to be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions and denied ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies. The Congress particularly protests against the enforcement by the British Government of disabilities on the Indian settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River Crown Colonies, which were not enforced even under the Boer rule, in spite of declarations of His Majesty's Minister that the treatment of the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Boer Government was one of the causes of the latter war ;

(b) in view of the important part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the Colonies, their admitted loyalty and peaceful and industrious habits, their useful and self-sacrificing services during the recent war, and above all, the great constitutional importance of the principle of equal treatment of all citizens of the Empire anywhere in the King's Dominions, this Congress respectfully, but strongly, urges the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to insist, by prohibiting, if necessary, the emigration of indentured labour and adopting other retaliatory measures, on the recognition of the status of Indian emigrants as British citizens in all the Colonies.

1906 ii. That this Congress, while noting with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in disallowing for the present the proposed Ordinance against British Indians in the Transvaal, desires to give expression to its grave apprehension that unless the Imperial Government continues to extend its firm protection to the British Indian Community, the policy of the Ordinance is almost certain to be enforced as soon as arrangements under the Constitution recently granted are complete ;

That this Congress also places on record its sense of deep regret and indignation that the people of this country should be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies, and the Congress expresses its firm conviction that such a policy is fraught with serious danger to the best interests of the Empire.

1908 iv. That this Congress views with the greatest indignation the harsh and humiliating and cruel treatment to which British Indians, even of the highest respectability and position have been subjected by the British Colonies in South Africa, and expresses its

alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far-reaching consequences of a mischievous character calculated to cause great injury to the best interest of the British Empire and trusts that the Imperial Parliament, when granting the new Constitution to South Africa, will secure the interests of the Indian inhabitants of South Africa.

That this Congress begs earnestly to press upon the British Parliament and the Government of India, the desirability of dealing with the Self-Governing Colonies in the same manner in which the latter ruthlessly deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

That this Congress, while aware of the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast tracts of undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, deems it right to point out that the policy of shutting the door and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy in Asia and other parts of the world, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

1909 ix. That this Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal, Muhammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their country, are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civic rights against heavy and overwhelming odds.

That this Congress offers its warmest encouragement to Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his brave and faithful associates, and calls upon all Indians of whatever race or creed to help them unstintedly with funds; and in this connection the Congress begs to convey to Mr. R. J. Tata its high appreciation of the patriotic instincts which have inspired his munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 to his suffering countrymen in South Africa in their hour of need and trial.

That this Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South African Union, and of

dealing with the authorities there in the same manner in which the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

That this Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

1910 v. (a) That this Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage, and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal—Muhammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian, who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their countrymen, are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds, and urges the Imperial Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude on the question, so as to remove a great source of discontent amongst the people of India ;

(b) this Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South African Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner as the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy, which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire ;

(c) this Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against, and denying the rights of full British citizenship to, all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in

Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

1911 xxix. (a) That this Congress, anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the Provincial Settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Indian Community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic Legislation of the Province regarding registration and immigration, and expresses its high admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Muhammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interests of their countrymen, during their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against overwhelming odds.

(b) Whilst appreciating the endeavours that have been made from time to time to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indians of South Africa and other British Colonies, this Congress urges that, in view of the avowed inability of His Majesty's Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude in this matter, the Government of India should take such retaliatory measures as may be calculated to protect Indians' self-respect and the interests of Indian residents in those parts of the Empire, and thus remove a great source of discontent among the people of this country.

(c) This Congress further protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against, and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with rare mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

(d) Whilst thanking the Government of India for the prohibition to the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for South Africa, this Congress is strongly of opinion that in the highest National interests, the system of indentured labour is undesirable and should be abolished, and respectfully urges the Government to prohibit the further recruitment of Indian labour under contract of indenture, whether for service at home or abroad.

1917 xlii. This Congress re-expresses its regret that the British

Indians of South Africa and East Africa still labour under disabilities which materially affect their trade and render their residence difficult, and unjustly and unduly restricts their movement to and in these parts of the Empire, and hopes that the local authorities will realise their responsibility to the Indians who have, in spite of disabilities, taken their full share in the war by raising corps and otherwise remove the disabilities complained and authorises the President to cable the substance of the resolution to the respective local authorities.

Indian Princes or Chiefs

1896 xviii. That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such mal-administration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal, which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs.

Industrial and Educational Problems

1900 xii. That the Congress hereby approves of the suggestion presented by the Indian Congress Committee for the consideration of this Session that at least half a day at each annual session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the Industrial and Educational problems of the country. Further resolved that annually two Committees be appointed by the Congress, one for Educational and one for Industrial subjects, to consider and suggest means for the Educational and Industrial improvement of the country and to assist therein and that to each Committee a Secretary be annually appointed. These Committees shall divide themselves into Provincial Committees with power to add to their number.

Internments

1917 ix. That this Congress condemns the appointment of the Committee announced on 10-12-17 in as much as the avowed object of the appointment is not to give relief but to introduce fresh legislation arming the Executive with additional powers to deal with the alleged revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal.

(b) That this Congress views with alarm the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818 (Bengal) and urges that the principle followed and the procedure adopted in the

application of the Defence of India Act should be the same as under the Defence of the India Act of England.

(c) That in view of the grave and widespread discontent which has been caused by the harsh and indiscriminate operations of the Defence of India Act, this Congress urges that the Government should forthwith abandon un-British policy of punishing people without trial and to grant a general amnesty to all political prisoners so as to bring about that calm atmosphere which is necessary for the constitutional growth of India as well as for the successful prosecution of the war in which the empire is at present engaged.

(d) That the Congress urges that the non-official members of the Legislative Council of any province in which the detenues are being held should elect a visiting committee who shall visit all detenues in their province and report to the Government all cases of sickness and harsh or unfair treatment.

Judicial Appointments of Trained Lawyers

1902 xii. That this Congress is of opinion that the present system under which a very large proportion of the District Judgeships, Joint-Judgeships and Assistant-Judgeships, are filled by Covenanted Civilians without any special legal training and without adequate guarantee of the knowledge of law necessary for the satisfactory discharge of the very important and responsible judicial duties entrusted to them, is injurious to the best interests of efficient judicial administration in the mufassal, and that it is urgently necessary to devise means to ensure a higher standard of efficiency in the administration of law, by securing the services of trained lawyers for the said posts.

Jury Trial

1886 ix. That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.

1892 vi. That this Congress views with the deepest concern and alarm the recent policy of Government with respect to trial by Jury, and particularly the action of the Governments of Bengal and

Assam in withdrawing the right of trial by Jury in the majority of serious offences and most respectfully, but firmly, protests against such policy and action as retrograde, reactionary, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and prays that the same may be reversed by the Government of India, and failing that, by the Government in England; and that, as prayed for in resolutions of previous Congresses, the right of trial by Jury be extended to those parts of the country where it is not now in force, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of Criminal Justice in British India.

1894 xl. (a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended, in cases triable by Sessions Courts, to many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force.

(b) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by Jury, depriving the verdicts of Juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers, then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress it is extremely desirable that the power at present vested in Government to appeal against acquittals be taken away.

1895 v. That this Congress views with alarm the constant changes that are being made and threatened on the subject of trial by Jury in this Country, and regard being had to the fact that no demand for any such change has been made by any portion of the population of British India, trusts that the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council on the subject will not be further proceeded with; and this Congress, reaffirming resolutions passed by former Congresses, also trusts that trials by Jury will be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply and that their verdicts should be final.

1896 vii. That this Congress having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of Trial by Jury, and to the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, and concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that Trial by Jury

should be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final.

1916 xxiii. That in all trials by jury Indians should have the right to claim that not less than half the jurors shall be Indians.

Labour

1896 xv. That having regard to the facility of intercourse between all parts of India and Assam, this Congress is of opinion that the time has now arrived when the Inland Emigration Act 1 of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893, should be repealed.

1900 xxiv. That the Congress respectfully submits that the provisions of the Indian Mines Bill, so far as they impose restrictions on the employment of labour, be omitted, and that the penal provisions thereof may not be put in force for a period of 5 years and that, in the meantime, mining schools be opened in suitable centres where young men may qualify themselves for employment under the Act.

1901 xiii. That this Congress while thanking the Government of India for its benevolent intentions, regrets, that immediate effect has not been given to the proposal made by the Government itself to enhance the coolies' wages in Assam, although such a course was strongly insisted upon by the Chief Commissioner, and was imperatively demanded by the plainest considerations of justice to the coolies ; and this Congress is further of opinion that the time has come when the Government should redeem its pledge to do away with all penal legislation for labour in Assam.

Labour Party and the Congress

1917 xlx. This Congress requests Mr. Joseph Baptista and Mr. H. S. L. Polak, both now in England to convey to the Labour Party in annual session assembled, its cordial welcome of their profound help in obtaining the passage through Parliament of a statute embodying the grant of responsible government to India. This Congress authorises the President to send a cablegram to Sir William Wedderburn Bart, Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, informing him that, in response to an invitation from representatives of the Labour Party, the Congress is requesting Messers Baptista and Polak to attend the forthcoming Labour Congress.

Land Revenue Settlement

1896 xvii. That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the policy of Government, in Provinces where the Settlement of Land Revenue is periodical, to reduce the duration of the Settlement to shorter periods than had been the case till now, and prays that the Settlement should be guaranteed for long periods, at least for sixty years.

Land Tax and Increasing Assessment

1903 iii. That this Congress views with alarm the tendency to increase the land revenue assessment every time there is a revision, and declares its firm conviction that the policy of raising the assessment so frequently and so heavily is increasing the poverty of the agricultural population of this country and rendering them still further unfit to withstand the periodical visitation of bad seasons and famines than they are now. This Congress, therefore, prays that the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, as laid down in the Secretary of State for India's despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject ; and that settlements for longer period be made, and judicial and legislative restrictions on over-assessments be imposed, in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the Permanent Settlement.

1906 xiv. That this Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on land, such, as was proposed by Lord Canning in 1862, or by Lord Ripon in 1882 ; and it regrets that Lord Curzon, in his Land Resolution of 1902, failed to recognise the necessity of any such limitation and declined to accept the suggestions of Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists in this matter. The Congress holds that reasonable and definite limitation of the State demand is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population.

This Congress respectfully protests against the view that Land Revenue in India is not a tax, but is in the nature of rent.

1908 xv. That this Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on land, and it regrets that Lord

Curzon in his Land Resolution of 1902 failed to recognise the necessity of any such limitation, and declined to accept the suggestions of Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists on the matter.

This Congress holds that in Provinces where the Permanent Settlement does not now exist, a reasonable and definite limitation of the State demand and the introduction of Permanent or a Settlement for a period of not less than sixty years, are the only true remedies for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population.

This Congress emphatically protests against the view that the Land Revenue in India is not a tax but is in the nature of rent.

1909 xix. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges :

(a) A reasonable and definite limitation to the State demand on land, and the introduction of a Permanent Settlement, or a Settlement for a period of not less than sixty years in those Provinces where short periodical Settlement revisions prevail, as, in the opinion of this Congress, that is the only means of ameliorating the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the agricultural population ; and

(b) A reduction of the annually growing military expenditure which now absorbs nearly one-third of the Empire's revenue, leaving an inadequate portion only of the balance available for the many objects of popular utility, specially Education and Sanitation, which are yet greatly starved.

See also **Permanent Settlement.**

Land Tenure

1895 x. That, in the opinion of this Congress, any proposal to restrict the right of private alienation of lands by legislation as a remedy for the relief of agricultural indebtedness will be a most retrograde measure, and will, in its distant consequences, not only check improvement but reduce the agricultural population to a condition of still greater helplessness. The indebtedness of the agriculturist classes arises partly from their ignorance and partly from the application of a too rigid system of fixed revenue assessments which takes little account of the fluctuating conditions of agriculture in many parts of India ; and the true remedy must be sought in the spread of general education and a relaxation of the rigidity of the

present system of revenue collections in those parts of the country where the Permanent Settlement does not obtain.

Law Membership

1910 iv. That in view of the fact that Section III of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the Office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to members of the English Bar, thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection may be made, this Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils, and Attorneys-at-Law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office.

1911 xxvii. Repetition of the above.

Legal Practitioner's Act

1895 xiii. That this Congress, while fully sympathising with any genuine effort which the Government may make for the suppression of law-touts, views with grave alarm those provisions of the Bill to amend the Legal Practitioners' Act, now pending the consideration of the Supreme Legislative Council, which propose to invest District Judges and Revenue Commissioners with the power of dismissing legal practitioners and, in cases coming under the Act, to throw the entire burden of proving their innocence upon the latter ; and this Congress being of opinion that the provisions of the Bill are calculated to prejudicially affect the independence of the Bar and to lower the position of legal practitioners in the eyes of the public without in any way helping to suppress law-touts or to further the ends of justice, urges that it should be dropped.

Legislative Councils, Reform of

1885 lii. That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Panjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration ; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against

the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decision of such majorities.

1886 iii. That this Congress do emphatically reaffirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England.

1886 iv. That this Congress is of opinion that in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions :

(1) The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.

(2) The right to elect members to the Provincial Council to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of members elected by Municipal and District Boards and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked

out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented.

(3) The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, to be elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.

(4) No elected or nominated Member of any Council, to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all the Members to be entitled to be reimbursed in any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(5) All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(6) All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any questions he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the enquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(7) The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision ; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered

necessary, shall be published within one month and in the case of Local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State ; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the over-ruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

1887 ii. That this Congress re-affirms the necessity for the expansion and reforms of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III of the Congresses of 1885 and 1886, and expresses the earnest hope that the Government will no longer delay action in the direction of this essential reform.

1888 i. That this Congress affirms the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations, and of the existing Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III of the Congresses of 1885 and 1886 and Resolution II of 1887 (a tentative scheme for which expansion and reform was suggested in Resolution IV of the Congress of 1886) ; and further urges that a Legislative Council (of the same character as those which have been suggested for provinces where Legislative Councils already exist) be established for the Punjab.

1889 ii. That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M. P. with the respectful request of this Congress that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M. P. with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons.

(1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Council to consist respectively of Members not less than one half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

(2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units for electoral purposes.

(3) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled latter) to be voters.

(4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(5) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such ways that whenever the Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsis, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bear to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.

(6) All elections to be by ballot.

1890 i. That this Congress, having considered the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh entitled "An Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861," approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law; and further that the President, Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, is hereby

empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation, thereto, in due course.

1891 ii. That this Congress reaffirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the Legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose good will towards India it gratefully recognises, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform.

1892 i. That this Congress, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister with the assent of the then Under Secretary of State for India—that it is intended by it to give the people of India *real living representation* in the Legislative Councils—regrets that the Act itself does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules, now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of this country; further, that it prays that these rules may be published in the official Gazettes, like other proposed legislative measures, before being finally adopted.

1893 i. That this Congress while tendering its most sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal spirit in which he has endeavoured to give effect to the Indian Councils' Act of 1892, regrets to have to put on record the facts, that alike in the Rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments, notably in that of the Government of Bombay material alterations are necessary if real effect is to be given to the spirit of this Act, and, that the Punjab, one of the most important Provinces in the Empire, is still denied the right to be represented, either in the Viceroy's or in any Local Council.

1894 ix. (a) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congresses, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for

the good Government of that Province, and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N. W. Provinces, urges that no time be lost in creating such a Council for the Panjab.

(b) That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the Rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective, and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh Rules framed in a liberal spirit, with a view to a better working of the Act and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.

1905 ii. That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for a further expansion and reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, so that they may become more representative of the people, and the non-official members thereof may have a real voice in the Government of the country. The Congress recommends an increase in the number of non-official and elected members and the grant to them of the right of dividing the Councils in financial matters coming before them ; the head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.

1908 ii That this Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley's despatch have been received throughout the country ; it places on record its sense of high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter, and it tenders to Lord Morley and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

That this Congress is of opinion that the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils and the enlargement of their powers and functions, in the appointment of Indian members of the Executive Councils with the creation of such Councils where they do not exist, and the further development of Local Self-Government, constitute a large and liberal instalment of the reforms needed to give the people of this country, a substantial share in the management of their affairs and to bring the administration into closer touch with their wants and feelings.

That this Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State's despatch, have been conceived.

1909 iv. That this Congress while gratefully appreciating the earnest and arduous endeavours of Lord Morley and Lord Minto in extending to the people of this country a fairly liberal measure of constitutional reforms, as now embodied in the India Councils' Act of 1909, deems it its duty to place on record its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion and regrets that the Regulations framed under the Act have not been framed in the same liberal spirit in which Lord Morley's despatch of last year was conceived. In particular the Regulations have caused widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country by reason of :—

(a) the excessive and unfairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion ;

(b) the unjust, invidious, and humiliating distinction made between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of His Majesty in the matter of the electorates, the franchise, and the qualifications of candidates ;

(c) the wide, arbitrary and unreasonable disqualification and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils ;

(d) the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole course of the Regulations ; and

(e) the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes.

And this Congress earnestly requests the Government so to revise the Regulations, as soon as the present elections are over, as to remove these objectionable features, and bring them into harmony with the spirit of the Royal Message and the Secretary of State's despatch of last year.

Legislative and Administrative Reforms in the C.P. and Berar

1908 xli. That this Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of :

(a) placing in regard to legislative and administrative matters the Province of Berar on the same footing as the Provinces included in British India ; and,

(b) establishing a Legislative Council for the combined territory of the Central Provinces and Berar.

1910 xviii. That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar, and for, according to Berar, which is now held by the Government on permanent tenure, the status and privileges which are accorded to Provinces included in British India.

Legislative Council for the Panjab.

1892 xii. That this Congress in concurrence with the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885 considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Panjab is an absolute necessity for the good government of the Province and having regard to the fact that a similar Council has been created for the United Provinces hopes that no time will be lost in creating such a Council.

1897 xv. That this Congress, while thanking the Government for granting the boon of a Legislative Council to the Punjab, places on record its regret that they have not extended to the Councillors the rights of interpellation, and to the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination, such as are enjoyed by the Councillors and people in the other Provinces.

1899 xvii Repetition of the above.

1909 vi. That this Congress records its opinion that the Regulations framed for the Panjab, under the Reform scheme, fail to give satisfaction for the following reasons, viz :—

(a) In that the numerical strength of the Council provided for in the Regulations is not sufficient to allow an adequate representation to all classes and interests of the population, nor is it commensurable with the progress made by this Province, in matters social, educational, industrial and commercial.

(b) In that the elected element prescribed by the Regulations for the Local Council is unduly small and altogether insufficient to meet the needs and requirements of this Province, and compares very unfavourably with that accorded to other Provinces, not more advanced.

(c) In that the principle of protection of minorities, which has been applied in the case of non-Muhammadans in Provinces where they are in a minority, has not been applied in the case of non-

Muhammadans who are in a minority in the Panjab, both in the Provincial and Imperial Councils.

(d) In that the Regulations, as framed, tend practically to keep out non-Muhammadans from the Imperial Council.

1910 ix. Repetition of the above.

Local Self-Government

1898 ix. That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disapproval of the reactionary policy of the Government with regard to Local Self-Government recently inaugurated by the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill into the Bengal Legislative Council, the creation of the Bombay City Improvement Trust without adequate popular representation, and its action in other directions.

1899 vii. That this Congress expresses its disapproval of the reactionary policy, subversive of Local Self-Government, evidenced by the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act, and by the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a similar measure, which will have the effect of seriously jeopardising the principles of Local Self-Government.

1903 x. That this Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Madras Municipal Bill, now before the local Legislative Council, is not in consonance with the principles of local Self-Government in India laid down in the time of Lord Ripon, and it desires to point out that the interests of the rate-payers of the City would not be adequately served by a lesser representation than that of twenty-four members. That, if the elective franchise is to be given to associations and institutions, it is of opinion that the institutions and associations should be such as possess a direct interest in the administration of the Municipal affairs of the City, and that the number assigned to them should be very limited. That the Madras Railway and the Port Trust are not bodies to whom such representation should be assigned, but that it should be extended only, if at all, to bodies like the Chamber of Commerce, the Traders' Association, and the University, by giving each of them the power of returning one member.

1909 xviii. That this Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government Scheme of 1882, has not had a fair trial, and has pressed on the

Government of India the necessity of an effectual advance in the direction of making local, urban and rural bodies really self-governing, and it expresses the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to make all Local Bodies, from village panchayats upwards, elective, with elected non-official chairmen, and support them with adequate financial aid.

1910 ix. Repetition of the above.

1911 viii. That this Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government scheme of Lord Ripon has not had a fair trial, and the Congress expresses the earnest hope that the Government may be pleased to take early steps to extend the application of the principle of election in the constitution of all Local Bodies, and to confer upon them the right of electing non-official chairmen, and further that they may be provided with adequate financial aid by the State.

Loyalty to the Crown

1886 i. That this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more and happy years of rule over the great British Empire.

1896 i. That this Congress desires to place on record its humble congratulations on Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, having attained the sixtieth year of her reign, the longest and the most beneficent in the annals of the Empire—a reign associated with the most important advances in human happiness and civilisation. The Congress expresses the hope that Her Majesty may long be spared to reign over her people.

1901 i. (a) That this Congress desires to express its profound sorrow at the death of Her Majesty, Queen-Empress Victoria, and its sense of the irreparable loss which the Empire has sustained thereby. This Congress recalls with gratitude Her late Majesty's deep personal sympathy with the people of India, as evidenced by her gracious Proclamation and by various other measures and personal acts, conceived in the same spirit of anxious solicitude for the welfare of the people of India.

1902 i. That the Congress begs to tender its respectful homage to His Most Gracious Majesty, King-Emperor Edward VII, on the occasion of the approaching Coronation Darbar to be held at Delhi on 1st January, 1903, and humbly trusts that His Majesty's reign will be an era of peace, prosperity and contentment throughout the Empire and will be marked by the gradual but complete redemption of the pledges contained in Her late Majesty's Proclamation and re-affirmed in His Majesty's gracious Message to the Indian people.

1905 i. That this Congress, representing His Majesty's Indian subjects of all races, creeds and communities, most humbly and respectfully offers its loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of their visit to India.

The Congress is deeply touched by the expressions of Their Highnesses' sentiments of cordial good-will towards the people of India, is confident that the personal knowledge gained during the present tour will stimulate their kindly interest in the welfare of its people, and it expresses the fervent hope that His Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to submit, to His Majesty the King-Emperor, the earnest prayer of this Congress that the principles of the Queen's Proclamation be enforced in the Government of this country.

(a) That the President do submit the above resolution to His Royal Highness by wire.

1908 i. That the Indian National Congress tenders its loyal homage to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor and respectfully welcomes the message sent by His Majesty to the Princes and Peoples of India on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the memorable Proclamation issued in 1858 by his Illustrious Mother Victoria the Good.

That this Congress begs to record its satisfaction that the interpretation placed by it upon the Pledge contained in that "Great Charter" of 1858 has been upheld by His Majesty.

That this Congress gratefully welcomes the pronouncement made by His Majesty that the time has come when the principle of representative institutions, which from the first began to be gradually introduced in India, may be prudently extended, and that the politic satisfaction of the claim to equality of citizenship and greater share in legislation and government made by important classes in India,

representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British Rule, will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.

That the Congress looks forward with confidence to a steady fulfilment by those in authority under the Crown in letter and in spirit of pledges and assurances contained in the Great Charter of 1858 and in His Majesty's Message of 1908.

1911 i. That this Congress in humble duty respectfully tenders its most loyal homage to the Throne and Person of their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, and feels confident that their visit to India will be productive of lasting benefit to the people of this country.

1917 iii. That this Congress, speaking on behalf of the united people of India, begs respectfully to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor deep loyalty and profound attachment to the throne their unswerving allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and at all costs.

Madras Municipal Bill, See Local Self-Government

Military and Civil Expenditure

1885 v. That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the Empire is unnecessary, and regard being had to the revenue of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive.

1885 vi. That in the opinion of this Congress if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly, by the reimposition of the customs duties ; and secondly by the extension of the licence-tax to these classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt.

1892 vii. That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual Military Expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the Military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of the country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion that, in bare

justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden.

1894 xiv. That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this Congress records its firm conviction that the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Military Expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil Administration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject, this Congress strongly recommends that the Standing Congress Committees of the several Presidencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to England at least one well-qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the Committee.

1895 iii. That this Congress again records its firm conviction that in view of the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other military expenditure, Home Charges and the cost of Civil Administration; and it notices with satisfaction that expert opinion in England has now come over to the view of the Indian Parliamentary Committee that growth in military expenditure is a more potent cause of Indian financial embarrassment than the condition of exchange.

1899 iii. That whereas it is considered safe and prudent to withdraw large bodies of British troops for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the Indian tax payer should be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India so large a force of European soldiers. This Congress sees no objection to the location of British troops in India as a reserve force for the whole of the British Empire, but is of opinion that the time has come for the transfer of the cost of 20,000 British troops from the Indian to the British Exchequer.

1901 x. That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of British

India, this Congress is of opinion that the Indian tax-payer should be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European Army:—the claims of financial justice to India demand the transfer of the cost of a portion of British troops from the Indian to the British Exchequer.

1902 vii. That this Congress enters its most emphatic protest against the fresh permanent burden of £ 786,000 per annum, which the increase made during the course of the year in the pay of the British soldier would impose on the revenues of India, and views with alarm the recent announcement of the Secretary of State for India, hinting at a possible increase in the near future of the strength of the British troops in the country. In view of the fact that during the last three years large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety been withdrawn for Service in South Africa and China, the proposal to increase the strength of the existing British garrison manifestly involves to the grievous injustice to the Indian tax-prayer, and the Congress earnestly trusts that the proposal will either be abandoned, or else be carried out at the cost of British Exchequer, which in fairness should bear, not only the cost of any additional British troops that may be employed, but also reasonable proportion of the cost of the existing garrison.

1903 vii. That this Congress reiterates its opinion that the scope of the measures, which have been undertaken from time to time for increasing the army in India, for armaments and fortifications with a view to the security of India, not against domestic enemies, or against the incursions of warlike peoples of adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British Power in the East, and on which millions of Indian money have been spent, reach far beyond the Indian limits in that the policy that has dictated these measures is an Imperial policy ; and that, therefore, the Indian Army Charges, which not only include the cost of the native army but also that of the British forces amounting to about one-third of the whole British army which, forms the Imperial Garrison in India, are excessive and unjust, especially having regard to the fact that the Colonies which are equally dependent upon and indebted to the Mother-Country for their protection, contribute little or nothing towards the Imperial Military expenditure.

(b) That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, been withdrawn for Service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion, that the Indian tax-payers should be granted substantial relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European army.

(c) That this Congress protests most emphatically against the manner in which the Indian revenue have been charged with £. 786,300 per annum for the increased cost of the recruitment of the British army in spite of the Viceroy of India and his Council having strongly condemned such a charge as being injurious to Indian interests, and as calculated to retard many urgent measures of domestic reform now under contemplation or in course of initiation.

(d) That this Congress reiterates its conviction that inasmuch as the army amalgamation of 1859 has all along been the cause of a considerable portion of the unjust and excessive burden of Indian Military expenditure, the time has gone when steps should be taken to have that system wholly abolished.

1904 xii. (a) That this Congress regards with grave alarm the heavy and continuous increase that has been taking place year after year in the Military burdens of the country and that in the opinion of this Congress the present Military Expenditure of India is beyond her capacity to bear.

(b) That the Congress can only contemplate with dismay all further proposals to throw fresh burdens on the revenues of India in connection with Army expenditure, and it enters its earnest protest against throwing the cost of the proposed Army reorganisation scheme of Lord Kitchener on the Indian Exchequer.

(c) That as the strength of the Army maintained in India and the measures that are from time to time adopted to improve its efficiency are determined, not by a consideration of the military needs and requirements of India, but for upholding British supremacy in the East, as moreover, large bodies of British troops have, in recent years, been temporarily withdrawn, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the British Parliament should seriously consider the justice and

policy of making a substantial contribution towards Army Charges in India.

1905 viii. That this Congress, while recording its emphatic protest against any change which weakens the supremacy of the Civil control over the Military authorities, is of opinion that the necessary Civil control cannot be adequately exercised until and unless the representatives of the tax-payers are placed in a position to influence such control.

(b) That this Congress earnestly repeats its protest against the continued increase in the military expenditure, which is unnecessary, unjust and beyond the capacity of the Indian people.

(c) That this Congress is distinctly of opinion that as the military expenditure of this country is determined, not by its own military needs and requirements alone but also by the exigencies of British supremacy and British policy in the East, it is only fair that a proportionate share of such expenditure should be met out of the British Exchequer and shared by the Empire at large, instead of the whole of such expenditure falling on a part of the Empire which is the poorest and the least able to bear it.

(d) That in view of the changed position of affairs in Asia, due to the recent war between Russia and Japan and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, this Congress earnestly urges that the large expenditure of 10 millions sterling sanctioned last year for the Reorganisation scheme be not now incurred, and the money be devoted to an extension of education in all its branches and reduction of the ryot's burdens.

1906 iii. That this Congress renews its protest against the excessive and alarming growth of military charges in recent years and their undue preponderance in the public expenditure of the country.

That this Congress is of opinion that, as the military expenditure of the country is determined, not solely by its own military needs and requirements, but also by the exigencies of British supremacy and British policy in the East, it is only fair that a reasonable share of such expenditure should be borne by the British Exchequer.

That this Congress strongly urges that by a substantial reduction of military expenditure and by the steady substitution of the Indian for the European agency in the Public Service, funds should be set free to be devoted to the promotion of education in all its branches,

to improve sanitation and to the relief of the ryot's burdens, such as a further reduction of the Salt-tax, a reduction of the Land Revenue demand of the State, and measures for dealing with agricultural indebtedness.

1908 vii. That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the fresh burden of £.300,000 which the British War Office has imposed on the Indian Exchequer for military charges on the recommendation of the Romer Committee, the proceedings of which the Under Secretary of State for India has refused to lay on the table of the House of Commons, its contravention of previous practice in such matters.

That this Congress views with the greatest regret the repeated imposition of military charges by the British War Office on the Indian tax-payer from the date of the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, in regard to which imposition the Government of India has repeatedly remonstrated.

That this Congress respectfully urges upon the attention of His Majesty's Government the necessity of revising the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 in the light of the experience of the last fifty years, and the desirability of laying down a fair and reasonable principle which shall free the Indian Exchequer from unjust exactions of this character.

1909 xix (b) A reduction of the annually growing military expenditure which now absorbs nearly one-third of the Empire's revenue, leaving an inadequate portion only of the balance available for the many objects of popular utility, specially Education and Sanitation, which are yet greatly starved.

Mining Engineering

1901 xviii. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the rapid progress of the mining industry of India, and in consideration of the fact that the mineral resources of this country are vast and the facilities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of mining engineering in this country are almost nothing, and in view of the fact that the tendency of recent legislation on mining, namely Act VII of 1901 is, that all Indian mines must be kept under the supervision of mining experts, this Congress is of opinion that a Government College of Mining Engineering be established in some suitable place in India

after the model of the Royal School of Mines of England, and the Mining Colleges of Japan and the continent.

Montagu Welcomed

1917 iv. That this Congress extends to the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu a most cordial welcome on the occasion of his visit to India. The Congress hopes that his visit will be crowned with success and that it will convince him of the supreme necessity for the establishment of responsible government in this country.

North-West Frontier Province

1909 xx That in view of the prevalence of serious dissatisfaction among the people of the N. W. Frontier Province with the character of the administration under which they live, this Congress earnestly urges the Government of India to order a public enquiry into their complaints, and take steps to remedy the disadvantages under which they labour as compared with the population of the Punjab.

Parliamentary Grant to India

1900 xi. That this Congress, while expressing its grateful acknowledgements for the annual contribution of £. 257,000 promised to be made from the British to the Indian Exchequer in accordance with the recommendations of the majority of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, respectfully desires to point out that for doing adequate justice to the claims of India so far as admitted by that Commission it is necessary that she should be granted the arrears payable on this account for the past many years, and prays that the British Parliament will be pleased to make this grant.

Partition of Bengal

1903 ix. That this Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social and administrative relations, and deprecates the separation from Bengal of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong Division and portions of Chota Nagpur Division, and also the separation of the District of Ganjam and the Agency Tracts of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts from the Madras Presidency.

1904 xiv. That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government of India, for the Partition of

Bengal in any manner whatsoever. That the proposals are viewed with great alarm by the people, as the division of the Bengali Nation into separate units will seriously interfere with its social, intellectual and material progress, involving the loss of various constitutional, and other rights and privileges which the Province has so long enjoyed and will burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian tax-payers cannot at all afford.

The Congress is of opinion that no case has been made out for the Partition of Bengal, but if the present constitution of the Bengal Government is considered inadequate for the efficient administration of the Province, the remedy lies not in any redistribution of its territories, but in organic changes in the form of the Government, such as the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that of Bombay and Madras.

1905 xii. That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the Province.

That having regard to the intense dissatisfaction felt by the entire Bengali community at the dismemberment of their Province and their manifest disinclination to accept the Partition as an accomplished fact, this Congress appeals to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State to reverse or modify the arrangements made in such a manner as to conciliate public opinion, and allay the excitement and unrest present among large masses of the people.

That this Congress recommends the adoption of some arrangement which would be consistent with administrative efficiency, and would place the entire Bengali community under one undivided administration either by the appointment of a Governor and Council, or by the adoption of some other administrative arrangement that may be thought desirable.

1908 v. That this Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India to reverse the Partition of Bengal, or to modify it in such a manner as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

That this Congress is of opinion that the rectification of this admitted error will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to the other Provinces, and instead of impairing,

will enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country.

1909 viii. That this Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, not to treat the question of the Partition of Bengal as incapable of reconsideration, but to take the earliest opportunity so to modify the said Partition as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

That this Congress humbly submits that the rectification of this admitted error will be an act of far-sighted statesmanship. It will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to other Provinces, and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country.

That this Congress appoints Messrs. Surendranath Banerji and Bhupendranath Basu to proceed to England as a deputation, to lay the question of the Partition before the authorities and public there.

1910 x. (a) That this Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India not to treat the question of the Partition of Bengal as incapable of reconsideration but to take the earliest opportunity so to modify the said Partition, as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration ;

(b) This Congress humbly submits that the rectification of this admitted error will be an act of far-sighted statesmanship. It will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to other Provinces, and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country.

1911 ii. That this Congress respectfully begs leave to tender to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor a humble expression of its profound gratitude for his gracious announcement modifying the Partition of Bengal. The Congress also places on record its sense of gratitude to the Government of India for recommending the modification and to the Secretary of State for sanctioning it. In the opinion of this Congress, this administrative measure will have a far-reaching effect in helping forward the policy of conciliation with which the honoured names of Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe will ever be associated in the public mind.

Patna University Bill

1916 xv. This Congress places on record its emphatic protest against the highly retrograde character of the Patna University Bill, and strongly urges that it should be so amended as to make it a thoroughly liberal and progressive measure.

Permanent Land Revenue Settlement in Madras, Bombay and other Provinces

1888 xiv. That the question of the introduction of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue Demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other Provinces be referred to the several standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report upon the same, in so far as it affects their respective circles, to the Congress of 1889.

1889 vii. That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate in all fully populated and well-cultivated tracts of country.

1890 vi. That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were reaffirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand, as explicitly promised by Her Majesty's Secretary of State more than a quarter of a century ago.

1893 x. That this Congress having on many previous occasions urged on the Government of India the necessity for giving, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand, wherever this has not already been conceded, desires now to reiterate emphatically this recommendation and to call attention to the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering

with the existing permanent settlement to Bengal and Behar (in the matter of the survey and other cases) and with the terms of the sanads of the permanently settled estates in Madras, and deeming such tampering with solemn public pledges, no matter under what pretences, a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose, in all possible legitimate ways, any and all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders.

1894 ii. (a) That this Congress desires to express the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of Survey and other cesses) and with the terms of sanads of permanently settled estates in Madras ; and, deeming such interference with solemn pledges a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways all such reactionary attacks on Permanent Settlements and their holders, and resolves to petition Parliament in that behalf.

(b) That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) for Permanent Settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist, but have also failed to give effect to the policy of granting modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India and approved by the Secretary of State ; and this Congress hereby entreats its Government of India to grant a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years, so as to secure to landholders the full benefits of their own improvements.

1896 xiii. That this Congress once again would desire to call the attention of the Government to the deplorable condition of the poorer classes in India, full forty millions of whom, according to high official authority, drag out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation even in normal years, and the Congress would recommend the following amongst other measures for the amelioration of their condition :

(1) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to those parts of the country where it does not exist at the present time, and restrictions be put on over-assessments in those parts of India where

it may not be advisable to extend the Permanent Settlement at the present time, so as to leave the ryots sufficient to maintain themselves.

(2) That Agricultural Banks be established and that greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.

(3) That the minimum income assessable under the Income-tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand.

(4) That technical schools be established and local and indigenous manufactures fostered.

1900 xxiii. That while thanking the Government of India for its intention to investigate the question of the incidence and pressure of the land assessment as affecting the well-being and resources of the agricultural population, the Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of including within the scope of the contemplated investigation the question of periodical settlement of assessments and the necessity repeatedly pointed out by the Congress of making it permanent. This Congress further prays that the Government of India may be pleased to publish the opinions invited from Local Governments and Administrations, on the subject referred to in para 4 of the Resolution of the Government of India (Revenue and Agricultural Department) published in *The Gazette of India* dated 22nd December, 1900, and allow the public an opportunity to make their representations thereon before the Government decides whether further investigation is necessary or not in the terms of the said Resolution.

1903 iii. Permanent Settlement be extended in view of increasing assessment.

1910 xxiii. (2) That a reasonable and definite limitation to the State demand on land and the introduction of a Permanent Settlement for a period of not less than sixty years in those Provinces where short periodical Settlements or Revisions prevail, are, in the opinion of the Congress, the only means of ameliorating the present unsatisfactory conditions of the agricultural population.

Plague Expenditure

1898 xxiii. That the adoption measures against the plague being a matter of imperial concern and recognised as such, this Congress is of opinion that the expenditure incurred in connection

thereof should be borne by the Government and not charged to the funds of the local bodies.

1899 xlx. Repetition of the above.

Police Administration

1888 v. That, as it is the general belief of the people of this country that the existing system of police administration in India is highly unsatisfactory in itself and oppressive to them, the Government be respectfully urged to appoint a Commission, consisting of official and non-official members, to investigate the entire question as speedily as possible.

1892 v. (e) The fundamental reform of the Police administration by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment ; and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspectors-General, Superintendents, and Assistant Superintendents of Police are :

1901 vii. That this Congress notices with satisfaction that the question of Police Reform is now under the consideration of the Government and that it is one of the twelve questions which His Excellency the Viceroy proposes to deal with during the term of the Viceroyalty. The Congress repeats its conviction that no satisfactory reform could be effected unless the Police were reorganised on the following lines:

(1) That the higher ranks of the Police should be recruited more largely than at present from among educated Natives of India as by statute defined, who, being conversant with the language and habits, thoughts, and life of their subordinates, would be in a position to exercise a more effective control over their subordinates than is exercised at present.

(2) That the pay and prospects of the subordinate ranks of the Police should be substantially improved so as to render the Service more attractive to the educated community. This Congress is of opinion that the wider employment of educated Indians in the subordinate ranks of the Police upon higher pay and with better prospects can alone contribute to the efficiency and integrity of the Police.

(3) That the competitive examination held in England for the recruitment of the provincial branches of the Police Service, should be thrown open to natives of India, instead of being confined to candidates of British birth.

1902 x. That this Congress records its sense of regret at the inadequacy of the representation on the Police Commission of Indian gentlemen of experience on the subject, and at the limited scope of reference as indicated in the Resolution of the Government of India, and in the opening speech of the President.

Police Reform

1902 x. This Congress further records its deliberate conviction that the Police will not be rendered efficient unless the following among other reforms are carried out :

(1) That men of adequate qualification are secured for superior offices in the Police Service.

(2) That educated Indians are largely employed in the superior offices in the Police Service.

(3) That the position and prospects of investigating and inspecting officers are improved, so as to attract educated men to the Service.

(4) That the District Officer, who is District Magistrate and head of the Police, is relieved of his judicial powers and of all control over the Magistracy.

1904 xi. This Congress places on record its deep regret that the Report of the Police Commission has still been withheld by the Government from the public, though it is now two years since the Commission reported, and though portions of it have found their way into the columns of papers beyond the reach of the Official Secrets' Act.

In view of the great urgency of a thorough reform of the Police force of the country, in view further of the large public interests involved in a satisfactory solution of the question and the obvious necessity in consequence of giving the public ample opportunity to express its views before the authorities proceed to formulate a scheme of reform, in view, finally, of the fact that all public criticism expressed after the subject has been considered by both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India is bound to be virtually ineffective, this Congress earnestly urges the publication of the Commission's Report without any further delay.

1905 xi. That this Congress while noting with satisfaction some useful reforms recommended by the Police Commission, regrets that adequate measures have not been adopted to materially improve the efficiency and the honesty of the Police Service.

That this Congress records its conviction :

(1) That competitive examinations for the recruitment of the Police Service in the higher grades should be thrown open to all classes of British subjects instead of being confined to candidates of British birth, and that such examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India.

(2) That educated Indians should be largely employed in the higher grades in order to secure efficiency in work.

(3) That enlistment in the Provincial Service should be by competitive examinations.

(4) And lastly, that District Officers, who are the heads of the Police, should be relieved of judicial work and of all control over the Magistracy of the District.

Political Prisoners

1910 xxiv. That having regard to the great improvement which has taken place in the general situation of the country, as recognised by the late Viceroy and other high authorities, this Congress respectfully appeals to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to signalise the commencement of a new administration by an act of clemency to those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences. In the opinion of this Congress, such an act of clemency will have the undoubted effect of facilitating the return of the country to normal conditions, and will lead to a further improvement in the relations between the Government and the people.

1911 xxi. That, in view of the gratifying improvement in the general situation of the country, this Congress respectfully submits that the advent to India of Their Imperial Majesties may be signalled by the release of those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences ; such an act will be appreciated throughout India, and will deepen the feelings of profound gratitude and loyalty which the Royal visit has evoked.

1917 v. Release of Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali demanded.

Price Level, Increase of

1908 xiii. That this Congress is of opinion that having regard to the high prices of food-stuffs for the past several years, and the hardships to which the middle and poorer classes are put thereby, an enquiry should be instituted by Government into the causes of such high prices, with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedies such causes could be removed.

1909 xiv. That the Congress is of opinion that, having regard to the high prices of food-stuffs current during the past several years, and the hardships to which the middle and poorer classes in particular are put thereby an enquiry by a properly constituted Commission should be instituted by the Government into the causes of such high prices, with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedies that evil could be removed or its effects minimised.

Provincial Adjustments of Indian Finance

1896 iv. Considering that the Local Governments are entrusted with all branches of administration, excepting army expenditure, superior supervisions and control here and in England, and the payment of interest on debt, this Congress is of opinion that the allotments made to the Provincial Governments on what is called the Provincial Adjustments are inadequate, and that in view of the revision of the Quinquennial Provincial Contract, which is to take place in 1897, the time has arrived when a further step should be taken in the matter of financial decentralisation, by leaving the responsibility of the financial administration of the different Provinces principally to the Local Governments, the Supreme Government receiving from each Local Government only a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite and equitable principle which should not be liable to any disturbance during the currency of the period of contract, so as to secure to Local Governments that fiscal certainty, and that advantage arising from the normal expansion of the revenues, which are so essential to all real progress in the development of the resources and the satisfactory administration of the different Provinces.

Provincial Executive Councils

1897 xi. That having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, statesmen

from England, to the exclusion of the Services in India, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Government of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with councils of three members and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be other than a member of the Indian Civil Service.

1898 xiv and 1899 xii. Repetition of above.

Public Service Commission

1892 ii. That this Congress hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission, in that—

(a) Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service, specially reserved for the Natives of India, the resolution of Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870 ;

(b) Whereas, while 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service ; the number to be allotted to Assam not having yet been announced ;

(c) Whereas, while a Membership of the Board of Revenue and a Commissionership of a Division, were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution ;

(d) Whereas, while one-third of the Judgeships were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth have been so thrown open.

1892 xi. That Mr. W.C. Bonnerji, Mr. P.M. Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Bannerji and Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the line indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress, and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., for presentation to the House of Commons.

"To

The Honourable The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled,

The humble petition of the President and Members of the Eighth Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of December, 1892.

Respectfully Showeth,

(1) That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Honourable House, the deep disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty's Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.

(2) That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service, under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the people the full enjoyment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India in their resolution appointing the Commission observed : 'That the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service.' But the result of the Commission's enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.

(3) That in respect, likewise, to simultaneous examinations in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous examinations. Among the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(4) That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commis-

sion, is of such a character that this Congress has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Honourable House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country.

1895 vii. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June, 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England.

1896 v. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June, 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, viz., Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest, and Accounts, both in India and in England. This Congress would once again respectfully urge on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people and as the only adequate fulfilment of the pledges made to them.

Poverty of India

1891 iii. That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congress, affirms—

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that, in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

(a) The exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration and all control over the finances, of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II ; to

(b) the extravagant cost of the present administration, Military and Civil, but especially the former ; and to

(c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—that the cost of the administration be greatly reduced; in the Military branch, by a substantial reduction of the standing army, by the substitution of long term local European troops like those of the Hon. East India Company, for the present short term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatised youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money, that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance and Store Departments; and in the Civil branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff; and that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue, demanded and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks.

That this Congress does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and speedily, on these reforms.

1892 ix. That this Congress emphatically re-affirms Resolution III of the Congress of 1891, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public Service should be greatly reduced,

and that measures should at once be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand and thus permit capital labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country which under the existing system of temporary settlements in recent times often lasting for short periods in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this Congress again most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the short-comings of the existing doubtless well-intentioned but none the less unsatisfactory administration but to insist and that speedily on the reforms then and now so earnestly advocated.

1893 viii. That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms :

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

And humbly urges, once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.

1894 iii. Repetition of the above.

1896 xii. That this Congress deplores the out-break of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India and holds that this and other famines which have occurred in recent years are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment, consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government both in the Civil and the Military departments, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy, which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries.

In the meantime the Congress would remind the Government of

its solemn duty to save human life and mitigate human suffering (the provisions of the existing Famine Code being in the opinion of the Congress inadequate as regards wages and rations and oppressive as regards task work), and would appeal to the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Insurance Fund (keeping a separate account of it) to its original footing, and to apply it more largely to its original purpose, viz., the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people.

That in view of the fact that private charity in England is ready to flow freely into this country at this awful juncture, and considering that large classes of sufferers can only be reached by private charity, this Congress desires to enter its most emphatic protest against the manner in which the Government of India is at present blocking the way, and this Congress humbly ventures to express the hope that the disastrous mistake committed by Lord Lytton's Government in the matter will not be repeated on this occasion.

1901 iii. (1) That the Congress once again desires to call the attention of the Government to the deplorable condition of the poorest classes in India, full forty millions of whom, according to high official authority, drag out a miserable existence, on the verge of starvation even in normal years, and this Congress recommends the following amongst other measures for the amelioration of their condition—

(2) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to those parts of the country where it does not exist; that restrictions be put on over-assessments in those parts of India where it may not be advisable to extend the Permanent Settlement at the present time, so as to leave the ryots sufficient to maintain themselves on, and that these Settlements of land revenue be guaranteed for longer periods than is the case at present.

(3) That Agricultural Banks be established and greater facilities be accorded for obtaining loans under the Agricultural Loans Act.

(4) That steps be taken to improve the Agriculture of the country and in connection with this, this Congress exhorts all landed proprietors in the country to pay greater attention to the agricultural needs of the country and adopt such measures as are in their power to meet them.

(5) That the minimum income assessable under the Income-tax Act be raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000.

(6) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped, at least in part, by the wider employment of the children of the soil in the Public Services.

1902 iii. That the Congress earnestly desires to draw the attention of the Government of India to the great poverty of the Indian people, which, in the opinion of the Congress, is mainly due to the decline of indigenous arts and manufactures, to the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years, and to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity large numbers are forced to throw themselves on State help. And the Congress recommends the following amongst other remedial measures :

(1) That practical steps in the shape of State encouragement be taken for the development and revival of indigenous arts and manufactures and for the introduction of new industries.

(2) That Government be pleased to establish technical schools and colleges at important centres throughout the country.

(3) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India's Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that reduction of, and judicial restriction on, over-assessments be imposed in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the Permanent Settlement.

(4) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped, at least in part, by a much wider employment of the children of the soil in the higher branches of the Public Service.

(5) That Agricultural Banks be established for the better organisation of rural credit and for enabling solvent agriculturists to obtain loans on comparatively easy terms.

Press and restrictions on Freedom

1894 xix. That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June, 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary, and mischievous in its

nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, most respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the same and entreats its cancellation without delay.

1895 vi. That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June, 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, again enters its emphatic protest against the same and urges its cancellation without delay.

1896 xi. (i) The withdrawal of the Government of India Notification of 25th June, 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in Territories under British administration in Native States, as being retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people.

1897 vi. Repetition of 1895 vi.

1897 xii. That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and, Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and care and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

1897 xiv. That this Congress desires to record its protest against the Criminal Procedure Bill of 1897, now pending before the Imperial Legislative Council, as being a retrograde and reactionary measure which will add to the already large powers of the Police, invest Magistrates with discretionary authority which they do not now possess and curtail the powers of the High Courts, all to the extreme prejudice of accused persons.

1898 iv. That this Congress regrets, that, in spite of its last sitting and the protest of many public bodies and eminent men English and Indian, the amendments proposed in the Indian Penal Code, and the Criminal Procedure Code, which are calculated to unduly enlarge the powers of the Police and the Magistracy, to fetter the freedom of the Press and to restrict liberty of speech have been carried through the Imperial Legislative Council, and urges their repeal.

1898 viii. That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the establishment of Secret Press Committee in certain parts of India is highly objectionable and inconsistent with the spirit of British administration

1898 xvii. That the Government of India Notification of 25th June, 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, and ought to be cancelled without delay.

1899 vi. That it is the opinion of this Congress that the principle embodied in the Foreign Telegraphic Press Messages Bill, now pending before the Supreme Legislative Council, is opposed to the policy followed by the British Government in India as to the unrestricted dissemination of useful knowledge and information, and that no adequate necessity is shown to exist for the passing of the proposed measure in India.

1903 vi. That this Congress views with entire disapproval the Official Secrets Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council inasmuch as it is uncalled for, against the interests of the public, dangerous to individual liberty and retrograde in policy, and prays that the Government of India may be pleased to confine its scope to the disclosure of Naval and Military secrets.

1905 xiii. That this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest, and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal, in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people.

1909 x. That, having regard to the grave risk of injustice in Government action based upon *ex-parte* and untested information, and to the sufficiency for reasonably preventive and punitive purposes of other provisions on the Statute Book of the country, this Congress urges upon the Government the repeal of the old Regulations relating to deportation and prays that the persons who were last year deported

from Bengal be set at liberty without further detention, or be given an opportunity to meet the charges, if any, that may be against them, and for which they have been condemned unheard.

1910 xii. That having regard to the state of the country since the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Press Act, this Congress earnestly prays that the former be not reenacted at the expiry of its term, and that the latter be removed from the Statute Book without delay.

1911 iv. That this Congress respectfully repeats its protest against the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act, and prays that, in view of the loyal enthusiasm evoked by the Royal visit, and the official pronouncements about an improvement in the general situation, these measures, as well as the Regulations authorising deportation without trial, may now be removed from the Indian Statute Book.

1914 xvi. That this Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urges that the same be repealed, specially in view of the decision of the Calcutta High Court which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

1915 xvii. This Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urges that the same be repealed.

1917 vii. That this Congress places on record its strong conviction that by reason of the wide and arbitrary power conferred by the Press Act of 1910 upon the Executive and the way in which it has been used, the Act has proved a menace to the liberty of the Indian Press and tended to demoralise public life ; and the Congress strongly urges the Government to repeal it.

Prostitution and Contagious disease in Indian Cantonments

1888 xii. That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object.

1892 xiv. That this Congress is thankful that the House of

Commons is vigilant in regard to the recent purity legislation by the Government in India, and desires, once again, to enter its protests against all State-regulated immorality in India.

1893 vii. That this Congress having considered the Report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of Rules, Orders and Practices in Indian Cantonments with regard to prostitution and contagious disease, hereby endorses their conclusions:

1. That the system and incidental practice described in that Report and the statutory rules, so far as they authorised or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888 ; and

2. That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

Punjab Land Alienation Bill

1899 ii. (a) That this Congress regrets the introduction into the Supreme Legislative Council of a Bill to amend the Law relating to agricultural land in the Punjab, with a view to restrict alienation of land as proposed in the Bill by sale or mortgage, which is calculated (1) to decrease the credit of the agriculturists and landholders; (2) to make them more resourceless on account of their inability to meet the ever increasing State demands upon their land ; and this Congress is of opinion that the provision to give retrospective effect to the Bill is inequitable and unfair.

(b) That this Congress recommends that real relief be afforded to the cultivating classes in the following way ; that where the Government is the rent-receiver, the rule proposed in 1882, prohibiting any advancement on the ground of rise in prices, be enforced and that where private landlords are the rent-receivers, some provision to prohibit undue enhancement of rent be made.

(c) This Congress resolves that a Committee consisting of the President, Mr. Jaishi Ram, Mr. N. Gupta, Mr. Wacha, Munshi Madho Lal, Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Ikbāl Shankar be appointed and empowered to submit a representation to the Government, pointing out the unsuitable nature of many of the provisions of the Bill.

Quarantine against Mahomedan Pilgrims

1905 xvi. That having regard to the fact that there is ten days

international quarantine in existence at Kamran, this Congress holds that the quarantine, of five days imposed at the port of Bombay upon the Mussalman pilgrims before embarking for Jedda is unnecessary and vexatious, and produces a feeling of discontent; this Congress, therefore, prays that the quarantine imposed at Bombay be entirely abolished.

Railway Passengers

1895 xvii. That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for recognising the grievances of third class Railway Passengers, from whom the largest portion of railway revenue is derived, in their recent resolutions on the subject, desires to express its hope that Government will take effective steps to bring about an early redress of those grievances.

Representative Institutions

1886 ii. That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

Representation of Indians in Parliament and in Indian Councils

1904 ix. That in the opinion of the Congress, the time has arrived when the people of this country should be allowed a larger voice in the administration and control of the affair of their country by

(a) The bestowal on each Province or Presidency of India of the franchise to return at least two members to the English House of Commons.

(b) An enlargement of both the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils—increasing the number of non-official members therein, and giving them the right to divide the Council in all financial matters coming before them—the Head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto.

(c) The appointment of Indian representatives (who shall be nominated by the elected members of the Legislative Councils) as Members

of the India Council in London and of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Governments of Bombay and Madras.

Revenue Surpluses

1904 viii. (a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the large and recurring surpluses of the last six years—amounting in all to about twenty millions sterling—so far from being the result of any increased prosperity of the people, are only an indication of the fact that the level of taxation in the country is maintained much higher than is necessary, in as much as these surpluses have been rendered possible mainly, if not exclusively, by the artificial appreciation of the rupee, and the consequent saving of between three and four millions a year on the House remittances of the Government of India.

(b) That both for the sake of giving relief to the classes which have suffered most from the currency policy of the Government and to remove from the path of Government a direct temptation to increase expenditure, which the existence of large surpluses year after year undoubtedly constitutes, this Congress strongly urges (1) a further reduction in the salt duty; (2) a reduction in the land revenue demand of the State in those Provinces where the agriculturists have had a series of calamitous years; and (3) the abolition of the excise duties on cotton goods.

(c) That till such reduction is effected, the Congress urges that part of the surpluses be devoted to purposes which would directly benefit the people, such as the promotion of scientific, agricultural, and industrial education, and increased facilities of medical relief, and that the rest be employed in assisting Local and Municipal Boards, whose resources have been seriously crippled by famine and by the annual recurrence of plague, to undertake urgently-needed measures of sanitary reform and the improvement of means of communication in the interior.

1905 vii. That this Congress, while appreciating the action of the Government of India in applying a portion of its surplus revenues last March to some of the purposes recommended by the Congress, is of opinion that the financial relief given by it to the tax-payers of this country during the last three years has been most inadequate, and the Congress regrets that advantage has been taken of recent surpluses to increase largely the military expenditure of the country, raise

the salaries of European officials in several departments and create a number of new posts for them. The Congress urges that any surplus that may arise in the future should, in the first place, be utilised for purposes of remission of taxation, and secondly, be devoted to objects directly benefiting the people, such as imparting scientific, industrial and agricultural education, providing increased facilities of medical relief and assisting Municipal and Local Boards with grants to undertake urgently needed measures of sanitary reform, and the improvement of means of communication in the interior.

Salary of the Secretary of State for India

1904 vii. That this Congress, while protesting against the injustice of charging the cost of the India Office in London to the revenues of this country, when the Colonies are exempted from any share of the cost of the Colonial Office, places on record its opinion that the whole of the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the English Estimates.

Salt Tax

1888 xv. That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax, as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the Empire.

1890 v. That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council.

1895 xix. That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Secretary of State for India for his promise of September last to take an early opportunity to reduce the Salt Duty, and concurring with previous Congresses, once more places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of salt taxation imposes upon the poorest classes of the country—a hardship which renders it incumbent on Government to take the first opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

1896 viii. That this Congress once again places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of Salt Tax imposes upon the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to the level of 1868.

1902 xiii. That the Congress strongly protests against the present high duty on salt, and in view of the fact that the prevalence and spread of many diseases are now traced to the insufficiency of salt consumed by the Indian masses, and that the accounts of the Government of India have now been showing large surpluses year after year, the Congress urges that Government should be pleased to reduce the Salt Tax by at least the amount of its enhancement in 1888.

Sanitation

1911 vii. That this Congress, while thanking the Government for having initiated a system of scientific enquiry into the circumstances affecting the origin and progress of plague, malaria and other diseases, urges the necessity of immediately taking in hand such practical measures as the opening of congested areas, the reclamation of silted rivers, the clearing of jungles, the draining of water-logged areas, and better provision for the supply of pure drinking water throughout the country.

Self-Government or Swaraj

1906 ix. That this Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India, and that, as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out :

(a) All examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England, and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only ;

(b) The adequate representation of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy, and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay ;

(c) The expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, allowing a larger and truly effective representation of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country ;

(d) The powers of Local and Municipal bodies should be extended and official control over them should not be more than what is exercised by the Local Government Board in England over similar bodies.

1915 xix. That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived to introduce further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of Self-Government as defined in Article I * of its Constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of Government in this country so as to secure to the people an effective control over it, amongst others, by

(a) The introduction of Provincial autonomy including financial independence ;

(b) Expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people and to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government ;

(c) The re-construction of the various existing Executive Councils and the establishment of similar Executive Councils in Provinces where they do not exist ;

(d) The reform or the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;

(e) Establishment of Legislative Councils in Provinces where they do not now exist ;

(f) The readjustment of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India ; and

(g) A liberal measure of Local Self-Government.

That this Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of reform and a programme of continuous work, educative and propagandist, having regard to the principles embodied in this Resolution and further authorises the said Committee to

*The Objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the All-India Moslem League for the same purpose and to take such further measures as may be necessary ; the said Committee to submit its report on or before the 1st of September 1916 to the General Secretaries, who shall circulate it to the different Provincial Congress Committees as early as possible.

1917 xii. This Congress expresses its grateful satisfaction over the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of responsible government in India.

This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary statute providing for the establishment of responsible government in India, the full measure to be attained within a time-limit to be fixed in the statute itself at an early date.

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the Congress-League Scheme of reforms ought to be immediately introduced by the State as the first step in the process.

Separation of Executive from Judicial Functions

1886 xi. That this Congress do place on record as expression of the universal conviction, that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.

1887 iii. That this Congress once again places on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and declares that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation, without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.

1891 vii. (a) the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions, such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer.

1893 vi. That this Congress having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of

the gravest stigmas on British rule in India one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each Province of a Committee (one half at least, of whose members shall be non-official natives of India qualified by education and experience in the workings of the various Courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own Province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Governments thereon, to himself at some early date which he may be pleased to fix.

1894 xii. That this Congress having till now vainly appealed for many successive years to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State, to remove one of the gravest defects in the system of administration and one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of people throughout the country, and having noted with satisfaction the admission of the evil by two former Secretaries of State (Lord Kimberley and Lord Cross), and being of opinion that the reform is thoroughly practicable, as has been shown by Messrs. R. C. Dutt, M.M. Ghose and P.M. Mehta, entreats the Government of India to direct the immediate appointment in each Province of a Committee (one-half at least of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of various Courts to deal with the question) to prepare a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own Province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the opinions of the several Governments thereon, at an early date.

1895 iv. That this Congress again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice.

1896 iii. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received ; and this Congress once again appeals

to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform. In this connection, the Congress desires to record its deep regret at the death of Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, who made this question the subject of his special study.

1898 x. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received ; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.

1899 i. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions in the administration of justice has received ; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of State in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes that the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for carrying out this much-needed reform.

1900 iv. Same as above.

1901 iv. Same as above.

1902 xi. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take early practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial and Executive functions in the administration of criminal justice, the desirability of which has been frequently admitted on behalf of Government. In this connection, the Congress regrets to notice that the trend of recent legislation is not only to deprive the Judiciary of its salutary and wholesome power of check and restraint over the Executive, but to invest the Executive with greater and uncontrolled powers.

1905 x. (a) That in the opinion of this Congress a complete separating of Judicial from Executive functions must now be carried out without further delay ; (b) that this Congress, concurring with

previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service, in all parts of the country, should be recruited from the Legal profession more largely than at present, as the system of appointing Civilians without special legal training to high judicial offices does not lead to satisfactory administration of justice in the Mofussil.

1906 iv. That in the opinion of this Congress the separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions, which is admittedly necessary in the interests of good government and sound judicial administration, should no longer be deferred.

1908 viii. That this Congress records its satisfaction that the proposal for the separation of Executive and Judicial functions has received the sanction of the Government in some definite shape for the Province of Bengal; but is at the same time of opinion that the scheme should also be extended throughout the country, and that it will not succeed in its object unless and until the entire Judicial Service be placed directly and absolutely under the High Court or Chief Court, as the case may be, even in matters of promotion and transfer.

1909 xvii. (a) That this Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by Government that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have been taken in that direction, and this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges a complete separation of the two functions without delay.

(b) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession.

1910 vii. Same as above.

1911 xv. Same as above.

Simultaneous Examinations in England and India

1885 iv. That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held in England, for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service, should, henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit, and that the successful candidate in India should be sent to England for

further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years.

1888 ii. That this Congress, while appreciating the concessions proposed in the Report of the Public Service Commission, yet feels it necessary to put distinctly on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

1889 v. That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question (the net result of which Orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the National conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India and in England, of all Examinations for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.

1891 v. That as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice of the people of India, this Congress agreeing with previous Congresses, declares it to be essential that all examinations for any and all of the Civil branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should henceforth be also held simultaneously in India.

1892 iii. That this Congress, again distinctly puts on record its opinion, that full justice will never be done to the people of this country, until the open Competitive Examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

That this Congress, seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve extra expenditure.

1893 v. That this Congress desires to thank the British House of Commons for their just and wise vote in regard to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India, and most earnestly prays that august body to insist upon their orders being given prompt effect to by the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India.

1894 vi. (c) That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest, Telegraph and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the Congress regrets to notice that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various Local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

1898 xvi. That this Congress again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and urges the desirability of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services, *viz.* Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest and Accounts, both in India and in England, in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June, 1893. This Congress further points out that in regard to the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Postal, Salt, and Abkari and Forest Services, the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have not been adequately carried out and prays that in all ranks of the said Services more educated Indians should be employed.

1901 ix. That the Congress once again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have not produced the results which were anticipated, and this Congress repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd of June, 1893, in favour of holding the examinations for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in England and India.

Simultaneous Examinations and Higher Appointments

That in this connection, this Congress desires to express its profound disappointment at the policy of the Government in respect of the wider employment of Natives of India in the higher offices of Minor Civil Services, such as the Police, the Customs, the Telegraph, the Forest, the Survey, the Opium, as involving their practical exclusion from these offices and as being opposed to the terms of the Queen's Proclamation and the recommendation of the Public Service Commission ; and this Congress prays that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to remedy the injustice done to the claims of the people of this country.

1902 xiv. That the Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and is strongly of opinion that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible, unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd of June, 1893, in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Services, i.e. Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest, and Accounts, both in England and in India. That the policy of the Government of India in regard to the minor Civil Services practically excludes the Natives of India from higher appointments in them, and and is therefore opposed not only to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission but to Royal and Viceregal pledges given to the Indian people from time to time.

1910 xxii. That this Congress is of opinion that the Examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service should be simultaneously held in England and in India, and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be made by Competitive Examinations only.

1911 xix. That this Congress records its emphatic opinion that the present differentiation of the Civil Service into (1) the Imperial Service recruited in England mainly from Europeans ; and (2) the Provincial Services recruited in India, mainly from Indians, is opposed to the declarations made in the Statutes of 1833 and 1870 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and that such differentiation should be abolished as early as possible and that Indians should be afforded equal opportunities with Europeans, for appointment to posts now

reserved for the Imperial Service, by the holding of Simultaneous Examinations in England and India under conditions calculated to secure the best men for the posts.

Swadeshi

1906 viii. That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success, by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice.

1908 vi. That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of industries capable of development in the country, and respond to the efforts of Indian producers by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities, even at a sacrifice.

1909 xv. Same as above.

1910 vi. Same as above.

1911 vi. Same as above.

Teachers and Politics

1899 viii. That this Congress is of opinion that the rules prohibiting managers and teachers of aided institutions from taking part in political movements or attending political meetings without the consent of the Director of Public Instruction, or other authorities, are likely to interfere with the practical and effectual exercise of the rights of British subjects, to withdraw able and influential men from the cause of education, and to restrict private enterprise and organisation for the spread of education in this country. And this Congress hopes that the Madras and Bombay Governments will take steps to remove from the educational rules and the grant-in-aid code the provisions to the effect described above.

Trial by Jury—See Jury Trial

Violence Condemned.

1908 iii. That this Congress places on record its emphatic and unqualified condemnation of the detestable outrages and deeds of

violence which have been committed recently in some parts of the country, and which are abhorrent to the loyal, humane and peace-loving nature of His Majesty's Indian subjects of every denomination.

Volunteering

1886 xii. That in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, is capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government, effectively, in any crisis.

1887 v. Same as above.

Wakf-i-Ala-Aulad

1906 v. That in view of the general opinion amongst Muhammadans that the recent decisions of the Privy Council against the validity, of the "Wakf-i-ala-aulad" against the Muhammadan Law, this Congress is of opinion that a Commission should be appointed by the Government to enquire whether the Privy Council has not erred in its decisions, having regard to the law, usage and sentiments of the Muhammadan people ; and, if it be found that the decisions are erroneous, this Congress urges that steps should be taken to give legal effect to the right view.

Water cess

1894 xx. That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government of India with regard to the imposition of water-cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of land-owners and of persons investing money in land.

CONCLUSION

The activities of the Indian National Congress before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi may appropriately be described as a continuation and fulfilment of the work taken up by the earlier political associations during the half century preceding 1885. Dwarka Nath Tagore, the grand-father of Rabindra Nath Tagore, took the lead in convening a meeting at the Town Hall in Calcutta on January 5, 1835, for discussing the desirability of making an appeal to the Government of India for repealing the Press Ordinance of 1823. He reminded the audience that when the ordinance was originally passed, he with three of his relatives and his late lamented friend Rammohan Roy, had petitioned against it to the Supreme Court. At that time he did not ask any European to put his signature to the petition because such a step could have been punished with the banishment of the signatory; nor did he request his countrymen to join him as they thought that he would be hanged the very next day for his foolhardiness. But he was glad to find that the protest meeting at the Town Hall was well attended by Indians as well as Europeans.¹ His efforts were crowned with success when Sir Charles Metcalfe repealed the Ordinance and removed all restrictions upon the periodical Press in India. This struggle for the freedom of the Press has been rightly considered as the beginning of the system of constitutional agitation for political rights. When Lord Lytton passed the Vernacular Press Act in 1878 the Indian Association (IPL, 81,45*) in eastern India and the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha in western India carried on vigorous propaganda against it. Thanks to the liberal policy of Ripon and Gladstone the Act was repealed. The mantle of these Associations fell on the Congress when it severely condemned the attempt of the Government to gag the Press in territories under British administration in Indian States in 1891. By a strange irony of fate it fell to the lot of a Congressman, S. P. Sinha to pilot the Press Bill of 1910 through the legislature when he accepted the post of Law Member of the Governor-General's Council. C. Y. Chintamani wrote that he heard from

1. Kishory Chand Mitra : *Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore* (1870), p. 52

* References to Bimanbehari Majumdar : *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature* are given in the bracket under IPL.

Gokhale that Sinha was prepared to tender his resignation rather than agree to the proposed bill but some of the harsh provisions of the bill were toned down with a view to placating him and he was somehow prevailed upon to agree to the bill. The other members of the Viceroy's Executive Council must have assured him that the bill would not be arbitrarily used on the basis of which he had told the Legislative Council that adequate safeguards would be provided against the misuse of powers against the Press. The Congress protested against the Act in 1910. When S. P. Sinha occupied the Presidential Chair in 1915, B. G. Horniman put him in an awkward position by showing how the safeguard proved nugatory.

It is necessary to remember that many of the prominent leaders of the Congress had had their training in political life in the earlier political associations. Thus the Indian Association trained up men like Surendranath Banerji, Ananda Mohan Bose, Dwarkanath Ganguli and Krishna Kumar Mitra; the Madras Mahajan Sabha contributed leaders like Rangia Naidu, G. Subramania Iyer, Veer Raghava Chariar and Peter Paul Pillai and the Bombay Association proved the nursery of leading personalities like Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha. The great Ranade imparted training to a host of leaders through the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona. The first session of the Congress in 1885 decided to leave the task of carrying on the resolutions passed by it to these Associations as is proved by the following: "That the resolutions passed by the Congress be communicated to the Political Associations in each province, and that these Associations be required with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their respective provinces to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions".² The aforesaid associations were much better organised than the Congress in the last century.

These associations in their turn were indebted to the earlier organisations both for the subject matter and the technique of agitation. The earliest of such a body was the Landholders' Society, organised by Dwarkanath Tagore in collaboration with a number of prominent Indian and European citizens of Calcutta. At the first annual meeting of the Society held on November 30, 1839 Dwarkanath

Tagore refuted the argument of the *Friend of India* to the effect that the Landholders' Society represented the interests of a particular section of the people and not of the general masses. He pointed out how the Society tried to promote the welfare of the common people by collaborating with the *Friend of India* in emancipating the Bengali language from the dominance of Sanskrit, by making agitation for the reduction of the Stamp duty and for the grant of some allowance to the witnesses in certain cases.³ The Landholders' Society resolved to collaborate with the British India Society of London in bringing about reforms in the judicial, police and revenue administration of India and in extending something like the Permanent Settlement all over the country. In seconding the resolution moved by Baikunthanath Roy, Mr. Leith said that the superiority of the Permanent Settlement over the other types of settlement would be manifest if one compared the condition of the *zamindar*, *ryot* and of the land itself in the permanently settled areas with that prevailing in temporarily settled territories.

The tenor of the speech indicates that the speaker was thinking of settlement of land revenue with the *Zamindars* and not directly with the actual cultivators. In 1876 the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha prayed for a permanent settlement of the land revenue throughout British India (IPL, 112). In 1880 Ranade explained that he wanted a permanent Ryotwari settlement fixed in grain and in 1884 regretted that many people had wrongly thought that he wanted the Ryotwari tenure to be replaced by the Zamindari settlement. On June 28, 1890 Surendranath Banerjea wrote in the *Bengalee* : "We must protest against any proposal to extend the Settlement (of 1793) to any other parts of the Empire that do not have it at present ; the true principle upon which lands should be settled by the State being that the worker who actually holds, cultivates and improves the land must be secured in the quiet and undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of his own labour, on payment only of a fair and fixed rent to the State as his landlord." But the resolutions demanding Permanent Settlement, as drafted and passed by the Congress in 1890 and 1893, did not clarify the issue, nor did these state explicitly that the settlement should be made with the Ryot. On the other hand the resolutions

of 1893 and 1894 condemned the cadastral survey as an interference "with the existing Permanent Settlement in Bengal and Bihar". The second part of the latter resolution entreated the Government to introduce in the Provinces in which Permanent Settlement did not exist "a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancement of land tax for a sufficiently long period of not less than sixty years, so as to secure to *landholders* the full benefits of their own improvements". Had the Congress leaders been so solicitous about the interests of the actual cultivators they could have replaced the word "landholders" by some other suitable word. The only occasion when the Congress referred to the ryots specifically was in 1896 [XIII (i)] when it resolved that "restrictions be put on over-assessment in those parts of India where it may not be advisable to extend the Permanent Settlement at the present time, so as to leave the ryots sufficient to maintain themselves". This, however, shows that the Congress was not unmindful of the interests of the common people.

The Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona undertook an elaborate statistical enquiry into the condition of agricultural classes in 1873 (IPL, 110) and the Mahajan Sabha of Madras asked its members in 1884 to collect data on the effects of the Land Tax, the Forest and Salt Laws on the condition of agricultural classes (IPL, 161). The Congress did not make any such attempt during the period of our survey. The Forest administration was criticised severely by Peter Paul Pillai at the Madras Mahajan Sabha in 1885 (IPL, 164) and the same gentleman was the principal speaker on the subject in the Congress in 1891, 1894 and 1895.

The Congress devoted its time and energy mainly to the discussion of political and administrative questions like the reform of the composition and function of the Legislative Council, a fair share in the services for the educated Indians and the form of police and judicial administration. The British Indian Association, the Bombay Association and the Madras Native Association took the lead in all these questions. Thirty-three years before the foundation of the Indian National Congress, the British Indian Association demanded that the Central Legislature should have a majority of Indian members, 12 out of 17. The principle of nomination by the Government was admitted indeed, but the same was desired to be subject to the right of the people to object against any of the nominees on

specific grounds. They pleaded for the autonomy of the Indian legislature and prayed that the British Parliament should give a full hearing to the views of Indians before making any law affecting Indian interests (IPL, 42-43). In 1874, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha sent a memorial to Parliament asking for eleven seats for Indians in the British Parliament and suggesting that a convention should be established so that matters affecting the interests of India would not be decided unless these representatives gave their consent to the same. (IPL, 110).

Raja Rammohan Roy was the first Indian to voice the dissatisfaction of the people of the country against the exclusion of Indians from high and responsible posts. The political associations which flourished before the advent of the Congress made persistent demand from 1852 onwards for the gradual Indianisation of services (IPL, 39, 44, 53, 63, 78, 112, 143). The Congress took up this task and no other question evoked so much enthusiasm as this and a resolution on it became a normal feature of almost every session. The Congress pleaded for the enlargement of the legislature, appointment of Indians to judicial and administrative posts, introduction of the jury system and of the transfer of control of local bodies to elected representatives mainly because such steps would give an opportunity to the educated people to have a share in the government of the country. The educated classes placed themselves as the representatives of the people ; they could not but think that what was good for them was also good for the dumb millions. They attributed the poverty of India and the recurrent famines to the shutting out of Indians from legislature and public services and the extravagance in civil and military administration and ruinous economic policy (See Resolution III of 1891, p. 488).

The Congress reiterated the view again and again that "the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, improve the agriculture of the country, foster the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures, and help forward the introduction of new industries". During the period of two decades of independence many new industries have been introduced, but indigenous arts and manufactures have not been much developed, nor has economy been enforced in the field of adminis-

tration. The Congress passed many resolutions for the improvement of agriculture, but today we are much more dependent on foreign help in the shape of food grains than what was the case at the beginning of the present century. ⁴

The Jury system for which the Congress fought so valiantly stands discredited today. The Jury Committee in Bihar under the Chairmanship of Justice S. K. Das reported that "the system of trial by jury has in actual practice resulted in unsatisfactory verdicts—sometimes even in miscarriage of justice—in the prevailing conditions of selection of jurors". ⁵ The District Boards and Local Boards proved to be so very corrupt and inefficient that much of their power had to be taken away. Many of the Municipalities, too, stand superseded for much the same reason. The Congress demanded the repeal of the Arms Act and the reduction of expenses on the army, but neither of these has been found practicable by the Government formed by the Congress Party. The Congress deprecated the use of power of deportation and arbitrary detention under Bengal Regulation III, Defence of India Act and similar other laws; but use of such powers has proved to be a normal feature of the Government run by the Congress after Independence. ⁶ Many of the complaints made by the Congress against Police administration are echoed by the citizens and specially by the opposition parties in the country today.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was the first public association to condemn the practice of entrusting the executive with wide power to make rules under the Act (IPL, 114-115). The Congress also passed resolutions demanding the cessation of such practices. But under the Welfare State in India a very wide range of rule-making powers has been entrusted to the administrative officers, although these rules affect the vital interests of the people and sometimes even encroach upon their fundamental rights.

The Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha drew the attention of the thoughtful people to the danger of over population facing India as early as 1878. Lord Dufferin drew pointed attention to this problem in his famous Minute on the Congress in November,

4. See *ante* P. 52

5. Report of the Jury Committee 1952, p. 8.

6. See *ante* p. 53

1888 (IPL, 187). But the Congress did not move any resolution on this subject, nor did it take any step to check the danger. It is only in the decades since Independence that the Congress has realised the gravity of the problem and is making some propaganda for family planning. But the Government propaganda in this country has got a tendency to produce contrary results. With the growing intensity of the campaign for 'Grow More Food' the actual production diminished and similarly the prime result of the publicity campaign in favour of family planning appears to have been an acceleration in the rate of growth of population.

The Congress during the period of our review became a much more popular and powerful body than any of the preceding political associations. The number of delegates attending the Congress rose from 72 in 1885 to 4967 in 1917. But it still remained an organization of the intelligentsia. The dynamic personality of Mahatma Gandhi converted it into a powerful engine of mass movement. Under his magnetic leadership the Congress ceased to rely on the propaganda carried on through paid or subsidized agents in England, a practice started by the Landholders' Society in 1843 (IPL, 31) and continued by the Indian National Congress till the end of our period. The futile work of educating the British masters through the publication of the *India* was given up in 1920, and the Congress directed its entire energy to the training up of the Indian masses. Many of the great intellectuals who had guided the destiny of the Congress till 1917 seceded from it soon afterwards, having been frightened by the mass movement which was the logical outcome of their past efforts. The most outstanding contribution of the Congress in the pre-Gandhian age was to voice the demand for Swaraj and to train up the Intelligentsia for achieving it in a constitutional way. It is a great tribute to the wisdom of the leaders of those days that they were putting forward the demands whose fulfilment gave content to Swaraj and made it meaningful for the country's millions. The mode of organization and the techniques of agitation had necessarily to be different in keeping with the economic, social and political conditions obtaining during the period. Their intelligent and sustained work made possible the emergence of the subsequent mass movements and thus played an essential part in the achievement of independence.

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